A TREATISE OF THE CELIBACY OF THE CLERGY,

WHEREIN ITS

Rise and Progress

Are Historically Considered.

By Henry Wharton A.M.

Ἀθετοῦσι τὸ γάμον, καὶ οὐ πάνεται ἀπ' αὐτῶν ἡ λαγνεία.

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THE PREFACE

AMong the Errours and Corruptions of the Church of Rome, *there are ſuch which have neither any foundation nor ſhew of Antiquity, but are the meer Inventions of latter ignorant and barbarous Ages: Others, which obtained not indeed in the Ancient Church, but aroſe from the degeneracy of ſome Belief, or Corruptiin of ſome Practice received and uſed by the Ancient Chriſtians. Of the firſt ſort are Tranſubſtantiation, Half-Communion, Supremacy of the Pope, Worſhip of Images, and the like groundleſs Opinions and Practices, which the Antient Church never thought of, much leſs admitted. Of the latter kind are Invocation of Saints, which aroſe from an extraordinary Veneration paid to the Memory and Reliques of bleſſed Saints and Martyrs, degenerating in latter Ages into downright Superſtition and Impiety. Purgatory, advanced from a Belief generally received in the Ancient Church, that the Souls of the departed are not admitted to the beatifical Viſion before the Day of Judgment, into a fooliſh Opinion of a Fictitious Place of Torment, which might receive them in that interval of time: And Infallibility of Councils, raiſed from an external Submiſſion of ancient Chriſtians to their Decrees, into an Obligation of yielding an internal Aſſent to their Definitions. The Beginnings and Riſe of the Errours of the firſt ſort,*

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are unknown and uncertain, as being founded in dark and ignorant Ages; whose Actions are now no less obscure, than were then their Notions. But the latter sort admit a more clear and more certain Knowledge: Their several Steps, Progresses and Gradations, may without much difficulty be traced out, and exposed to the view of all Mankind; as hath been often done by the Divines of the Reformed Churches.

But the most eminent Instance of the latter kind, is the Imposition of Celibacy in the Church of Rome, *which arose from an immoderate affection and reverence of Virginity in the Ancient Universal Church, and Example of many particular Churches. Upon which account, I may boldly affirm, that the Imposition of Celibacy hath greater advantages to recommend and justifie it to the World, than any other erroneous Practice or Opinion of the Church of* Rome *whatsoever. Many others indeed proceeded from the Imitation and Advancement of some Ancient Doctrine or Practice: But then that Practice degenerated into Abuse, and that Doctrine was advanced into Errour. Whereas the Imposition of Celibacy can plead not only the Countenance and Resemblance of Antient Times, but produce the Examples and Authorities of Popes, Councils and Doctors, who anciently imposed Celibacy upon the Clergy, and urged the Imposition of it with no less fervour, than it is at this day continued in the Church of* Rome.

However Celibacy be confirmed by these Great Authorities, and recommended by this peculiar advantage of Undoubted Antiquity, few Divines of our Church have handled this Controversie, or endeavoured to shew the inclusiveness of those Authorities, and weakness of this

this Antiquity. Some few have produced Authorities of the Antient Writers in Favour of the contrary Practice; or in treating of other Arguments have briefly touched of it; and all have passed it over in a few Words, as a Matter of less Moment. At least none, that I know of, have handled this Controverſie in a particular Treatiſe; nor ſhewn the Beginnings, Occaſions, Advances and Succeſs of the Impoſition of Celibacy, in the ſeveral Ages of the Church. This Enquiry hath been omitted, not becauſe Truth is wanting to our Side, or the whole Stream of Antiquity runs contrary to us: but becauſe this is one of the leſs Momentous Controverſies; and our Clergy, whoſe peculiar Glory it is to be leſs ſolicitous of their Intereſt even in things lawful and indifferent, declined the Controverſie; leaſt in pleading for the lawfulneſs of Marriage, they ſhould be thought by a Cenſorious World to plead for their own Paſſions and Inclinations, and perhaps Practice too.

To ſupply this Defect is the Deſign of this Treatiſe, to vindicate the injured Cauſe of Marriage, and ſhew that the Antient Eſteem of Celibacy was neither Rational nor Univerſal, that both Antient and Modern Impoſition of it is unlawful, and that the Antient uſe of it, is no reaſonable nor neceſſary Preſident of the Modern Practice of it, to ſhew the Occaſions of that Eſteem and Beginnings of this Impoſition; and carry the Hiſtory of the Celibacy, and Marriage of the Clergy through the ſeveral Ages of the Church. This I have here undertaken, and as I hope, in ſome meaſure performed; perhaps with ſo much the better Succeſs, becauſe induced by no Prejudices, nor pleading for any peculiar Intereſts. For the Reader may be aſſured, that the Author of this Treatiſe hath neither experienced the Pleaſures of Marriage,

riage, nor hath the Honour to be a Prieſt of the Church of England.

It may not be amiſs, becauſe our Adverſaries commonly object to us falſifying of Citations, and borrowing them from one another; (a Crime which the Romiſh Prieſts of England *are truly guilty of, perhaps therein to be excuſed, becauſe the badneſs of their Cauſe requireth the former, and their own Ignorance neceſſitates the latter) and farther, to advertiſe the Reader, that of all the Citations which he ſhall find in this Treatiſe, no one is taken up at the ſecond hand for the firſt* 1300. *years, and after that time no more than three Writers cited upon the Faith of others,* viz. Alvarus Pelagius, Panormitan, *and* Polydor Virgil, *whoſe Writings I had not then by me, nor had any opportunity to conſult.*

A TREATISE OF THE CELIBACY OF THE CLERGY.

WHEREIN

Its Riſe and Progreſs are Hiſtorically Conſidered.

VIrginity is a thing ſo plauſible, and if true ſo venerable; ſo countenanced by Antiquity, and admir'd by the Unthinking Multitude; ſo highly ſubſervient to the Secular Intereſt, and outward Grandeur of the Clergy: That among all the Artifices wherewith the Church of *Rome* upholds a ſinking and decaying Cauſe, it is no wonder, if She more eſpecially make uſe of this. It might juſtly deſerve our reverence, and excite our Emulation, if her Clergy made good their glorious Pretences of Virginity by a real and unſpotted Chaſtity: But ſince when we departed from

the Church of *Rome*, we reſumed that ancient priviledge of Mankind, of believing our Senſes; ſince Reaſon and Revelation aſſures us, that ſo great a part of Mankind cannot, and Experience demonſtrates that it doth not enjoy a Perfection ſo extraordinary; ſince an enforced Vertue, and ſervile Piety, is neither acceptable to God, nor venerable to Men: We ſlight their Virginity, becauſe impos'd; and do not believe it, becauſe we do not ſee it. The Plea indeed of Antiquity is not only ſpecious, but in ſome meaſure true. In the Ancient Church, they retained an infinite eſteem and veneration for Virginity: Many extolled it as the glory, and ſome made it even the buſineſs of Chriſtianity; it was an unuſual abſtinence from lawful and permitted Pleaſures, that procured them Admiration from the Heathen, and Honour from their Fellow-Chriſtians. But then they really performed, what they generouſly undertook: Their Celibacy was no leſs chaſt than voluntary; their Piety was fully adequate to their Zeal, and both perhaps in ſome things greater than their Knowledge. Yet ſhould we even do violence to our Reaſon, and force our Nature to imitate the Examples, and receive the Doctrine of thoſe great and holy Perſons, if either their Conſent or their Practice had been univerſal. But on the contrary, the Impoſition of it hath been condemned by the moſt Famous Councils, and Greateſt Writers, never uſed in the Eaſtern Church, not introduced in the Weſtern till almoſt two hundred years after Chriſt, enjoyned but in ſome few Provinces of that, and even in thoſe not univerſally practis'd; and all this without doing injury to the ſacred Bond of Marriage, and ever leaving open a refuge for incontinent Perſons. Not ſo the Church of *Rome*, which not only adviſeth, but impoſeth Celibacy; in many of the Clergy have diſſolved Marriage, in all deſcrieth it as Hereſie, defineth it to be worſe than Fornication, and to none allows a remedy for Incontinency. To demonſtate the Injuſtice of the Church of *Rome* herein, and her departure from the Doctrine and Practice of the Ancient Church, ſhall be the Subject of this preſent Treatiſe.

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It is no ſmall preſumption of Errour, when the Defenders of any Opinion agree not in the merits of the Cauſe they undertake. In the Church of *Rome*, there are Four Opinions about the Celibacy of the Clergy: The firſt, that it is of Divine Right, Inſtituted and Commanded by God. So (*a*) *Jo. Major*, (*b*) *Clichtoveus*, and (*c*) *Turrian* teach, that God hath forbidden Biſhops, Prieſts, Deacons, and Sub-deacons (whom we ſhall hereafter comprehend under the general Name of the Clergy, unleſs when we manifeſtly diſtinguiſh them) to Marry, or uſe their Wives already married. The ſecond is that of *Bellarmine*, *Valentia*, *Vaſquez*, *Becanus*, *Aquinas*, and the far greater part of the *Roman* Divines, that it is not properly of Divine, but of Apoſtolick Right, as being inſtituted by the Apoſtles, and ever ſince conſtantly and invariably practiſed by the Church; that a Vow of Continence ſhould be annexed to Holy Orders; and conſequently, that Marriage thereby becomes unlawful to the Clergy, without a Diſpenſation. The third, without any reſpect to Divine or Apoſtolical Inſtitution and Practice of the Ancient Church, whether they be here had or not, thinks it ſufficient that the Church hath Power to impoſe a Vow of Continence upon the Clergy, and that ſuch a Vow being once taken, all uſe of Marriage is become unlawful, and ſubſequent Contracts invalid. This ſeems to be the Opinion of many of the Canoniſts, and the Council of (*d*) *Trent*; which ventured to define no more than this, that Clergymen or Regulars, after a ſolemn profeſſion of Continence, cannot Marry, or if they do, that their Marriage is unlawful. Laſtly, the more moderate Divines maintain, that it is neither of Divine nor Apoſtolical Right, but deriveth all its Obligation from Eccleſiaſtical Inſtitution; which as well as the Vow annexed to it, will ceaſe to oblige, as ſoon as the Church ſhall pleaſe; although in the mean while ſhe hath ſufficient reaſon to continue her Inſtitution. Againſt theſe Opinions, I ſhall prove theſe Four Propoſitions.

(*a*) *In* 4. *Diſp.* 24. *Qu.* 2.
(*b*) *de contin. ſacerd. c.* 4.
(*c*) *de dogmatic. charact. l.* 2.
(*d*) *Seſſ.* 24. *Can.* 9.

I. Celibacy of the Clergy was not inſtituted either by Chriſt or his Apoſtles.

II. It hath nothing excellent in it, and bringeth no real advantage to the Church or to the Chriſtian Religion.

III. The Impoſition of it upon any Order of Men, is unjuſt, and contrary to the Law of God.

IV. It was never univerſally impoſed or practſed in the Ancient Church.

I. Firſt then, that Celibacy was not inſtituted either by Chriſt or his Apoſtles. By Celibacy, we mean a perpetual abſtinence from the uſe of the Nuptial Bed in thoſe already Married, and not Contracting of Marriage in ſingle Perſons, after taking of Holy Orders, or making a Vow of Chaſtity. That ſuch Celibacy was not at all enjoyned by Chriſt, nor by the Apoſtles, as of Divine Right, is ſufficiently proved from the diſſent of our Adverſaries herein. For it is the received Opinion of the Church of *Rome*, that nothing can be a matter of Faith, ſuch as this would be, if it had been commanded by Chriſt; which is doubted and diſputed of among the Doctors of the Church. Now this is denied by the Maintainers of the Second and Fourth Opinions: As for the Third, that according to the uſual artifice of the latter Popiſh Councils, is ſo obſcurely propoſed, that it neither directly favours nor oppoſeth it. Beſides, neither Scripture or Tradition can be offered for this claim of Divine Inſtitution. The former is not ſo much as pretended to, or if it be, we ſhall examine it afterwards: The latter cannot juſtly be, ſince none but an univerſal Tradition of all paſt and preſent Ages is ſufficient to convey down a matter of Faith; whereas here the greateſt part even of the preſent Church deny it. But I will not inſiſt upon diſproving this, as well becauſe it is diſowned by the greateſt part of our Adverſaries, as becauſe all the Arguments to be produced againſt the other Opinions, will with much more force be valid againſt this. I will only obſerve, that if this Opinion be either falſe or uncertain, the Infallibility of the Church of *Rome* is wholly overthrown; ſince many Pope

Popes and Councils in the Eleventh Age, determined the Celibacy of the Clergy to be of Divine Inſtitution, and the lawfulneſs of their Marriage to be downright Hereſie.

(a) *Bellarmine* therefore, and with him the more Learned of the Church of *Rome*, decline this Plea, and aſſign to this Celibacy a bare Inſtitution of the Apoſtles, acting herein without any particular or expreſs Commiſſion from our Lord, but by them preſcribed and adviſed as meritorious itſelf, and convenient to the Church; punctually herein followed and obeyed by the Church in all Ages. Whether the Church, and more eſpecially the Ancient, did conform its diſcipline to this pretended Inſtitution of the Apoſtles, we ſhall enquire hereafter; and by proving that it did not, prove alſo that the Apoſtles made no ſuch Inſtitution: Since the Primitive Church cannot be ſuppoſed to have immediately degenerated from the Inſtructions and Admonitions of her Founders and great Doctors. But to paſs by that, I obſerve, that whether the Apoſtles inſtituted Celibacy, and ordained a Vow of Continency to be annexed to Holy Orders, is a Queſtion of Fact, and conſequently cannot be infallibly determined by the Church; but muſt be by them clearly proved, either from expreſs Texts of Scripture, or an univerſal and invariable Tradition. That there is no ſuch Tradition, we ſhall ſhew in ſome meaſure preſently, and more largely hereafter. For Scripture, we deſire to know, where thoſe plain Admonitions of Celibacy to the Clergy are to be found. For we are in no ways obliged to prove the Negative; Marriage being not forbidden to the Clergy by the Moral Law, and therefore to be eſteemed Lawful to them, till a manifeſt Prohibition ſhall be produced. *Bellarmine* indeed urgeth that Precept of the Apoſtle, *Tit.* 1. 8. that a Biſhop be *ſober and temperate*, σώφρων ἐγκρατής. But, not to ſay that *Bellarmine* herein forſakes his own Principle, and maketh Celibacy to be of Divine Inſtitution, ſince St. *Paul* ſpeaketh this, (b) not only *as one that had obtained Mercy of the Lord to be Faithful*, but alſo, (c) *as an Apoſtle of Jeſus Chriſt*: Theſe words ſerve not the purpoſe, as deſigning neither Continence nor Chaſtity, but Abſtinence

(a) *Controv. Tmo. II. l.* 1. *c.* 18, 19.

(b) 1 *Cor.* 7. 25.

(c) *Tit.* 1. 1.

Abſtinence from Drunkenneſs and Coveteouſneſs, and are oppoſed the firſt to πάροινος, and the ſecond to ἀπλήκτης in the former Verſe. Or if we ſhould with (a) St. *Chryſoſtom* interpret ἐγκρατῆ in this place, of an univerſal Temperance, we muſt remember, that ſuch a Temperance is nothing elſe but a Moderation in the uſe of all lawful Pleaſures. Πάντα ἐγκράτειαν, ſaith (b) *Clemens Alex.* ὁ πάντων ἀπεχόμενος, ἀλλ' οἷς ἔξεστιν, ἐγκρατῶς χρώμενος. *He is univerſally Temperate, not who abſtaineth from all things, but who moderately uſeth thoſe things, which he judgeth lawful.* Or Laſtly, if we ſhould againſt all reaſon interpret σώφρονα ἢ ἐγκρατῆ Chaſt and Continent: Yet the Fathers unanimouſly teach, that theſe Vertues are not incompatible with the moderate uſe of Marriage, as we ſhall prove hereafter. In the mean while let it be obſerved, that (c) St. *Paul* reaſon'd before *Felix* περὶ δικαιοσύνης ἢ ἐγκρατείας, *of Righteouſneſs and Temperance*; and yet cannot be ſuppoſed to have forbidden him the embraces of his Wife. As for *Bellarmine*'s other Text, 2 *Tim.* 2. 4. *No man that warreth, entangleth himſelf with the affairs of this life:* It is ſufficient theſe words are addreſſed not only to Clergymen, but to all Chriſtians. Whether a Married ſtate doth neceſſarily entangle Perſons in the Affairs of this Life, more then Celibacy, ſhall be enquired hereafter.

(a) *In loc.*

(b) *Strom. l.* 3.

(c) Act. 24. 25.

We come now to that great Store-houſe of the Aſſertors of Celibacy, the VII Chap. of the 1 Epiſt. to the *Corinthians*: And here a few Obſervations might have prevented many Miſtakes; as firſt, That the Apoſtle was ſo far from impoſing Virginity upon any Order of Men, that he ſeemeth to have foreſeen the danger of ſuch Miſtakes, and therefore to have inſerted theſe Cautions of them: (d) *But I ſpeak this by permiſſion, and not of command.* (e) *Ye are bought with a price, be not ye the ſervants of men.* (f) *And this I ſpeak for your own profit, not that I may caſt a ſnare upon you.* Secondly, To thoſe who are already Married, he adviſeth not a total, but a temporary Abſtinence: (g) *Defraud not one the other, except it be with conſent for a time, that you may give yourſelves to faſting and prayer, and come*

(d) Ver. 6.
(e) Ver. 23.
(f) Ver. 35.
(g) Ver. 5.

come together again, that Satan tempt you not for your incontinency. (a) *Let every man abide in the ſame calling wherein he was called.* (b) *Art thou bound unto a wife? ſeek not to be looſed.* Thirdly, That of thoſe who are already Unmarried, he adviſeth Virginity to them only who have the Gift of Continence. (c) *Nevertheleſs he that ſtandeth ſtedfaſt in his own heart, having no neceſſity, but hath power over his own will, and hath ſo decreed in his heart, that he will keep his virgin, he doth well.* (d) *I ſay therefore to the unmarried and widows, it is good for them if they abide even as I. But if they cannot contain, let them marry: for it is better to marry than to burn.* Fourthly, That this advice of Virginity was given not for the attainment of any greater merit, but meerly for reaſons of Convenience, and the urgent Neceſſities of thoſe times. (e) *I ſuppoſe therefore that this is good for the preſent diſtreſs.* (f) *Such ſhall have trouble in the fleſh, but I ſpare you. But this I ſay, brethren, the time is ſhort.* (g) *But I would have you without carefulneſs.* Fifthly, That this Advcie was directed not only to the Clergy, but to all Chriſtians in general. The Apoſtle no where reſtrains his diſcourſe to the former, but all along addreſſeth himſelf to the whole multitude of Believers. If any one of theſe Obſervations be true, as they are all moſt certainly, then no advantage can be drawn out of this Chapter for the cauſe of Celibacy, now in Controverſie.

(a) Ver. 20. (b) Ver. 27. (c) Ver. 37. (d) Ver. 8, 9. (e) Ver. 26. (f) Ver. 28, 29. (g) Ver. 32.

But our Adverſaries are not only deſtitute of Reaſon and Revelation in favour of this Opinion, but we have alſo many ſtrong Arguments againſt it. For to paſs by the greateſt of all, the Silence of Scripture, and the contrary Practice of Antiquity; the firſt manifeſted already, the latter to be proved hereafter: Many of the Greateſt Divines of the *Roman* Church do expreſly confeſs, that the Celibacy of the Clergy is neither of Divine nor Apoſtolical Inſtitution. This all thoſe Popes, Councils and Doctors, hereafter to be produced, who allow the Marriage of Prieſts in the *Greek* Church to be lawful, muſt have held, unleſs they be ſuppoſed to have betrayed the Doctrine and Tradition of the Church. All thoſe Divines likewiſe who have admitted or allowed a total abrogation of the Laws

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of Celibacy, could not believe it to have a Divine or Apoſtolical Original. However I ſhall produce ſome few, who expreſſly denied it. As firſt, the Canon Law, which may be looked upon as the ſence of the whole Church of *Rome* for ſome Ages. So then *Gratian*, (a) *The Marriage of Prieſts is Forbidden neither by Legal, nor Evangelical, nor Apoſtolical Authority; and yet is wholly Forbidden by the Eccleſiaſtical Law.* And, (b) *The Church, after the Apoſtolical Inſtitutions, hath added ſome counſels of Perfection, as that of the Continence of Miniſters.* (c) *Joannes*, a *Ludegna*, in a Speech made in the Council of *Trent*, and Printed among the Acts of that Council, determineth and largely proveth, that the Celibacy of the Clergy is neither of Divine Right, nor in any ſence commanded by the Apoſtles, but only adviſed by them: And that, *if there was no Laws of the Church, or Monaſtick Vows, Prieſts or Monks might lawfully Marry.*

(a) *Copula ſacerdotalis nec legali, nec evangelica vel apoſtolica authoritate prohibetur, eccleſiaſtica tamen lege penitus interdicitur, Cauſ. 26. qu. 2. c. 1.*

(b) *Eccleſia poſt apoſtolica conſtituta quædam conſilia perfectionis addidit, utpote de continentia miniſtrorum, Cauſ. 35. qu. 1. in fin.*

(c) *Conſtituo ſacerdotum cælibatum non eſſe juris divini, aut quoquam modo ab Apoſtolis præceptum, ſed tantum conſultum. —— Si nulla lex, aut nulla eſſent vota monaſtica, liceret ſacerdotibus aut monachis nubere, Concil. Tom. XIV. p. 1551.*

Beſides, if the Opinion of thoſe Divines be true, who maintain that Chriſt ſuperadded no Evangelical Counſels to the Moral Law; Celibacy can be neither of Divine nor Apoſtolical Inſtitution, unleſs we ſuppoſe that the Apoſtles immediately adulterated that moſt pure and ſimple Religion, which they had received from their Maſter. And indeed, this ſeemeth highly rational, moſt conſonant to the Honour of God, and adapted to the Nature of Man. That Religion was moſt befitting the Wiſdom of the Deity to preſcribe for the laſt and moſt perfect Rule of Mankind, which was moſt pure and ſimple: And this ſeems to have been the great End of Chriſt's coming into the World, to free us from the bondage of the Ceremonial Law, and eſtate us in that perfect liberty, if not of Will, yet at leaſt as to the objects of Choice, in which we were at firſt Created: whereas had he preſcribed a perpetual Continence to all thoſe who aim an Perfection, as is pretended,

ded, without altering their Natures at the ſame time, and by an extraordinary Miracle, enduing all, who deſire it, with the Gift of Continence: This alone would have debaſed the excellency of his Religion; and have been an Impoſition more grievous and burthenſom, more difficult and intolerable, than all the Rites and Ceremonies of the Moſaick Law. And then in reſpect of us, it became the Wiſdom and Goodneſs of our Supreme Law-giver, to give us a Religion, not as to Angels or Spiritual Beings, but in a way moſt conſentaneous to our Natures, and and agreeing to our Imperfections. That can neither refine, nor perfect our Nature, which is Preternatural; and if in this Mortal State, while enchained in a Body, ſurrounded with frailties, and endued with paſſions, we affect the impaſſibility of Angels, and the perfection of Spirits, we may be called Ambitious, but I know not whether Pious.

But this is not all. The Apoſtle not only forbids not, but even expreſly permitteth Marriage to the Clergy. For laying down the neceſſary Qualification of a Biſhop, the higheſt and moſt perfect Degree of the Clergy, he propoſeth this as as one, that (*a*) *he be blameleſs, the huſband of one wife. One that ruleth well his own houſe, having his children in ſubjection, with all gravity.* Of a Prieſt, that (*b*) *he be blameleſs, the huſband of one wife, having faithful children.* Of a Deacon, that (*c*) *he be the huſband of one wife, ruling his children, and his own houſe well:* And further, looketh upon it as no ſmall mark and teſtimony of the ability and worthineſs of the Candidates of any of theſe Sacred Offices, if they have ruled their own Houſes well, and by their precepts and examples taught their Wives and Children the practices of all Vertues. And in another place, (*d*) to avoid Fornication, allows to every Man his own Wife, maketh no exceptions. That is a lamentable refuge of ſome, who ſeek to elude the force of the former places, by pretending that the Apoſtle means here by the word Μονόγαμος, he who hath been the Husband of one Wife, but is not now, being become a Widdower, or at leaſt unable for the exerciſes of the Bed.

(*a*) 1 Tim. 3. 2, 4.

(*b*) Tit. 1. 6.

(*c*) 1 Tim. 3. 12.

(*d*) 1 Cor. 2. 2.

(a) Tim. 3. 2. For beſides that, the (a) Apoſtle giveth Rules for the vertuous Carriage of Deacons Wives; beſides that, this Interpretation is uncertain, which is ſufficient to our purpoſe, that it is contrary to the ſence of all Mankind, and the Vulgar acceptation of the word Husband, that it ſeemeth repugnant to the following Precept, of ruling their Houſes well, and is certainly repugnant to the Explication of the Fathers: The Practice of the Ancient Church do manifeſtly evince the falſeneſs of it, wherein it cannot be denied many Perſons were admitted to Sacred Orders, who had Wives then alive and dwelling with them. And in the Apoſtolical Conſtitutions, the Apoſtles are introduced thus ſpeaking, (b) *We have ordered, that a Biſhop, Prieſt and Deacon, be the Huſband of one Wife, whether their Wives be alive, or whether they be dead.*

(b) Ἐπίσκοπον καὶ πρεσβ. καὶ διάκ. ἕνα γαμετὴν μονογάμους καθίστασθαι, κἂν ζῶσιν αἱ γυναῖκες αὐτῶν οἱ γαμετοὶ κἂν τεθνᾶσιν. *lib. 6. cap. 17.*

To paſs by therefore this unreaſonable Interpretation, there are three other Explications of this word Μονόγαμος, all of them back'd with great Reaſons and Authorities. Firſt, That the Apoſtle means no more thereby, than that the Perſons admitted into Holy Orders, ſhould not have two wives at the ſame time. Secondly, That he ſhould not have ſucceſſively two Wives, much leſs three or four, one after the death of another. Thirdly, That he ſhould not have two Wives living at the ſame time, one Married after the Divorce of another. The firſt Interpretation was generally followed by the *Greek*, the ſecond by the *Latine* Fathers; although (c) St. *Chryſoſtom* eſpouſeth both, and (d) St. *Hierom* in ſo many ſeveral places admits all three. Which of them be the trueſt, is of no great moment to the preſent buſineſs, ſince each of them deſtroy the Opinion of our Adverſaries, and leave to the Clergy a liberty of Marriage. However, becauſe the ſecond Interpretation, if admitted, may in ſome meaſure prejudice that Principle which we ſhall hereafter lay down, that all cannot contain, and that God and Nature

(c) *Hom. X. in 1 Ep. ad Tim. & Hom. II. in Ep. ad Tit.*

(d) *Ep. 83. ad Oceanum, comm. in loc. l. 1. adv. Jovin.*

Nature hath provided no other remedy for incontinent Persons, than Marriage, which consequently must be reiterated as often as necessity shall require: I shall say somewhat to it, and oppose first, the contrary Opinion of all the *Greek* Fathers. Secondly, the Authority of the whole Catholick Church, who admitted Bigamist Bishops and Priests, or those who had married one Wife after the death of another, and that in great numbers, as we shall hereafter occasionally demonstrate; so that if the Apostle had forbidden all such to be admitted into these Sacred Offices, the Universal Church had erred in a matter of the greatest moment. Thirdly, the third Interpretation seems far more consonant to Reason, the Analogy of the Scripture, and the Circumstances of those Times. For that ought not to exclude any Man from this Sacred Dignity, which is so far from being a Crime, that in many cases it becomes Necessary; and if Marriage be allowed to all Men, to avoid Fornication, if any Man's Wife dieth, before either his years, or the peculiar favour of God hath reprieved him from the temptations of Incontinence; that Man, although a Priest or Bishop, may, withouthe least injury to the strictest Rules of Piety or Religion, contract a second Marriage. Bigamy in him, as (*a*) *Theodoret* invincibly argues, will become involuntary, and consequently not derogate from his character either of Priest or Christian. Besides, it was an abuse very frequent in that Age, both among the Jews and Gentiles, to Divorce their Wives upon the slightest occasions, or the least discontent; an abuse which argued in all an inconstant and unjust, and in many a lustful Mind; and therefore although committed before their Conversion, rendred such Persons unworthy of this Sacred Character. This Interpretation therefore is embraced by *Theodoret*, who, after he had affirmed the same Opinion to be maintained by many Others, and asserted it by many Reasons, concludeth thus, (*b*) *They seem to me to be in the right, who hold,*

(*a*) *Comm. in 1 Ep. ad Tim. cap. 3.*

(*b*) Τὸ δὲ μιᾶς γυναικὸς ἄνδρα εἶναι μοὶ δοκοῦσιν εἰρηκέναι τίνες ἔφασε τοίνυν τὸν θεῖον Ἀπόστολον εἰρηκέναι τὸν μιᾷ μόνῃ γυναικὶ συνοικοῦντα σωφρόνως τε ἐπιπνοπικῆς ἄξιον εἶναι χειροτονίας· οὐ γὰρ τὸν διεύτερον, φήσιν, ἐξέβατε γάμον, ὁ γε πολλάκις τοῦτο γενέσθαι κελεύσας, — ταῦτα καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα σκοπούμενος ἀποδέχομαι τῶν οὕτω ἱενοηκότων τὴν ἑρμηνείαν. *Loc. c.* 14.

hold, that the Apoſtle here teacheth him to be worthy of Epiſcopal Ordination, who liveth chaſtly with one only Wife. For he hath not herein rejected ſecond Marriages, which he hath in many caſes even commanded to be contracted. Conſidering then theſe and ſuch like Arguments, I receive the Interpretation of theſe Writers. St. *Chryſoſtom* alſo in (*a*) one place explains it the ſame way. And St. *Hierom*, when freed from the paſſion of Diſputing againſt *Jovinian*, enclined to the ſame Opinion. For propoſing (*b*) the Examples of two Biſhops, whereof the one ſhall have loſt his Wife in his youth, and overcome by the neceſſity of the fleſh ſhall marry another, bury her after ſome time, and ever after contain; the other ſhall enjoy the company of but one Wife, even till his death: He determineth the former to be the better, more chaſte, and more continent. And in another place, (*c*) reſolving *Oceanus* his Queſtion, Whether *Carterius*, a Spaniſh Biſhop, who had married one Wife before, and a ſecond after Baptiſm, had not thereby violated the Apoſtle's Injunction, of a Biſhop's being the Husband of one Wife? He pronounceth, That he had not. Laſtly, The contrary Opinion is built upon a falſe Foundation. For, not to ſay that it was firſt ſet on foot by *Tertullian*, after he was become a Montaniſt, and from him received by the *Latin* Fathers; it relyeth wholly upon theſe Two falſe Suppoſitions. Firſt, That according to any other ſence, the Precept of the Apoſtle would have been unneceſſary, the *Roman* Laws never allowing Polygamy. Secondly, That the Apoſtle maketh uſe of the ſame Phraſe, when he commands (*d*) a Widdow to be choſen, *the wife of one huſband*, γεγονῖα ἑνὸς ἀνδρὸς γυνὴ, although no Laws or civilized Nations ever permitted Women to have two Husbands at the ſame time. But both theſe Reaſons vaniſh, when oppoſed to our Third Interpretation. For Divorce was permitted by the *Roman* as well as *Jewiſh* Laws, for many other cauſes beſides that of Adultery, which alone was allowed by Chriſt: So that whoſoever had put away his Wife for any other cauſe, and married another, might truly be ſaid to have two Wives: and any Woman, who had married again after ſuch an unlawful Divorce, had truly two Husbands. Having

(*a*) *Hom.* 2. *in Ep. ad Tit.*

(*b*) *Comm. in Ep. ad Tit. c.* 1. *Tom. IX p.* 245

(*c*) *Ep.* 83. *ad Oceanum. in fin.*

(*d*) 1 *Tim.* 5. 9.

Having thus refuted the pretence of Divine or Apoſtolical Inſtitution, I proceed to the Second Propoſition, That the Celibacy of the Clergy hath nothing excellent in itſelf, and produceth no real Advantage either to the Church or the Chriſtian Religion, beyond Marriage. And here I am not ignorant, what Panegyricks and Encomiums of Virginity have been compoſed by many of the Antients, and almoſt all the Writers of the Barbarous Ages. This was a large field for them, wherein to diſplay their Rhetorick, a ſubject ſo ſpecious in itſelf, and glorious in its Title, that 'tis no wonder it hath been the Theme of ſo many luxuriant Wits; many of which have little leſs than Deify'd it, and equall'd its Merits to the collection of all other Chriſtian Vertues. I ſhall not here undertake, nor is it neceſſary to make an harangue upon the Praiſes of Marriage, much leſs to depreſs the Excellencies of the Virgin ſtate; it will ſuffice to ſhew the weakneſs and invalidity of the contrary Arguments, and thereby reduce both Marriage and Virginity to that Equilibrium, wherein Nature firſt placed them, and our Saviour left them.

Firſt then, I obſerve, That this extraordinary affection and reverence of Virginity, was firſt ſtarted and introduced by a Heretick, *Tertullian*; who deceived by the Enthuſiaſms of *Montanus*, endeavoured to refine the Chriſtian Religion, and advance it into a Syſtem of Angelick Perfection. He led the way to the Writers of the *Latin* Church; who receiving this prejudice from him, propagated it in ſome meaſure among the *Greeks*, although it never was by them embraced with that zeal, and purſued with that fervour, which always accompanied it in the Weſtern Church. Secondly, it may be obſerved, That this extravagant veneration of Virginity prevailed proportionably to the decay of Learning, and encreaſe of Ignorance in all Ages. The Reputation of Celibacy was ever then higheſt, when Knowledge was at its loweſt ebb. Particularly in the Tenth and Eleventh Ages, the moſt ſcandalous and barbarous periods of Time, that ever the Church waded through; when Learning ſeemed baniſhed

out

out of the whole World, then Celibacy triumphed every where, and was look'd upon as the Consummation of all Vertues; Marriage of the Clergy decried and abolished, and more Monasteries founded, than in all the Ages either before or since. Thirdly, This Opinion was first produced, and ever after advanced and maintained by a gross Mistake; that there is somewhat of impurity or sinfulness in the use of Marriage, and that Chastity cannot be retained in a Married state.

That the Admirers of Celibacy among the Antients were guilty of this Mistake, we shall have hereafter occasion to observe; and although the more Learned Writers of the Church of *Rome* are ashamed of such a Proposition, yet do they constantly fall back and recurr to it, when they assign the Reasons of imposing Celibacy upon the Clergy. So *Bellarmine*, after he had before disowned it, when his purpose requires it, doubts not to say, (a) *It cannot be denied, that some impurity and pollution intervenes in the act of Marriage; not what is a sin, but what ariseth from sin.* If by this Pollution and Impurity, he means a Natural one, we grant it; but then that affects not the Soul, nor depreciates the worth of Marriage: if a Moral one, that will indeed be truly and properly a Sin; but this he dares not say. Besides, his Distinction of a Sin, and a Consequence of a Sin, is wholly vain. For, if in all Use of Marriage, the effect of a Sin interveneth, then cannot Marriage be used without some precedent sin: A Proposition so false and erroneous, that the Use of Marriage was intended for our first Parents in the state of Innocence, and would have been practis'd to this very day, had they never fallen. Nay farther, whether fallen or not fallen, it was their Duty to make use of Marriage for the Propagation of Mankind; and even for some Ages after the Creation, it was so far from being meritorious, that it was Unlawful to continue Virgins. But if by the antecedent sin, which produceth this Pollution in the Act of Marriage; *Bellarmine* means, only the Original depravity

(a) *In actu vero conjugii negari non potest, quin admixta sit quædam impuritas & pollutio, non quæ peccatum sit: sed quæ ex peccato tamen nata sit. Controv. Tom. II. lib. 1. cap. 19.*

pravity of our Nature: if it be a Neceſſary effect of this depravity, then God cannot in Juſtice, and will not in Mercy impute it to us; if it be not a Neceſſary effect of it, then Marriage may be uſed without it, and his Propoſition will fall to the ground.

However, becauſe this ever was, and is ſtill the great Engine of the Patrons of Virginity, wherewith they gained Applauſe in the World, and blinded the eyes of unwary People, it will not be amiſs to clear this matter a little further, and demonſtrate that a true and proper Chaſtity and Continence may be obſerved in Marriage; which will alſo overthrow moſt of the Authorities produced out of the Writings of the more moderate and diſintereſſed Fathers, as inſinuating no more than an Advice of Chaſtity in the Uſe of Marriage. If this Propoſition ſeemeth either harſh or like a Paradox, it is only becauſe we are unacquainted with it, and our judgment anticipated by falſe notions of Chaſtity, which conſiſts as well in a moderate and well regulated Uſe of Matrimonial Acts, as in a total Abſtinence from them; nay, the former will always be a Vertue, the latter ſometimes a Sin, (as in the Infancy of the Creation, and if one married Perſon totally abſtaineth without the conſent of the other) and in moſt caſes but a thing indifferent, and then only a Vertue, when it adminiſters occaſion and opportunity to a greater good, than is the Propagation of Mankind, and vertuous Education of Children for the future Service of God. Such Caſes did often happen in the Beginning of Chriſtianity, and the Times of Perſecution; but in the calm and flouriſhing eſtate of the Church, are more rarely to be found. So that in all others, Chaſtity in the notion of a total Abſtinence, is a thing wholly indifferent, even although ſuch Abſtinence ſhould be true and perfect. But alas! the far greater part of Mankind are not capable of ſuch an Abſtinence, which conſiſteth not only in the preſerving the Body from actual Pollution and unlawful Pleaſures, for that may be a matter of Neceſſity as well as Choice, and is common to thouſands who ſhall never ſee the Glories of Heaven; but alſo in refraining the Mind from

from the desires, and even the thoughts of Uncleanness, and preventing the circles of an inward Fire. Such a Man may truly be said to retain a pure and unspotted Virginity; but then I doubt, that at the same time he will be the Phœnix of his Age. And then after all, if he want either Abilities or a Will to employ himself in Vertue and the Service of God, to greater advantage than he could have done in a Married state, his Celibacy will be devoid of all merit, and become wholly indifferent.

On the other side, the conservation of a true Chastity, is both possible and easie in Marriage; if it be not frequent, that ariseth from the corruption of Mankind, not any deficience or imperfection of Marriage. Now that Chastity and Continence may be here found and practised, the Apostle assureth us, when he saith, (a) Τίμιος ὁ γάμος ἐν πᾶσι, καὶ ἡ κοίτη ἀμίαντος, *Marriage is honourable in all men, and the bed undefiled*, or impolluted, directly contrary to *Bellarmine*'s Proposition. The Apostle is herein followed by almost all the Fathers. I shall producce some of them: and first the Great *Paphnutius*, who when in the Council of *Nice* the Celibacy of the Clergy was proposed, under the pretence of advancing Chastity, (b) pronounced *the embraces of a lawful Wife to be Chastity*, and was therein applauded by the whole Council. So *Clemens Alex.* (c) *Just Men under the Old Law, begat Children, Marrying* (or using Marriage) *incontinently.* (d) *What, may we not use Marriage continently? and not go about to dissolve that, which God hath joyned.* (e) *He also who marrieth for the sake of Procreation of Children, ought to use continence, so as not to lust even after his own Wife, whom he ought to love, begetting Children with an honest and chaste will.* Lactantius, (f) *As the Woman is bound by the Laws of Chastity, to lust after no other Object;*

(a) Heb. 13. 4.

(b) Σωφροσύνην δ' ἐκάλει καὶ τὴν νομίμου γυναικὸς τὴν συνέλευσιν. *Socrat.* l. 1. c. 11.

(c) Οἱ δὲ καὶ ἐπαιδοποιήσαντο, γήμαντες ἐγκρατῶς. *Strom.* l. 3.

(d) Τί γὰρ οὐκ ἔστι καὶ γάμῳ ἐγκρατῶς χρῆσθαι, καὶ μὴ πειρᾶσθαι διαλύειν ὃ συνέστευξεν ὁ Θεός. *Ibid.*

(e) Καὶ τὴν ἐπὶ παιδοποιΐᾳ γήμαντα ἐγκράτειαν ἀσκεῖν δεῖ, ὥς μηδ' ἐπιθυμεῖν τῆς γυναικὸς τῆς ἑαυτοῦ, ἣν ἀγαπᾷν ὀφείλει σεμνῷ καὶ σώφρονι παιδοποιούμενος βελήματι *Ibid.*

(f) *Sed sicut fœmina castitatis vinculis obligata est, ne aliud concupiscat, ita vir eadem lege tenetur, quo (quia) Deus & viro uxorem unius corporis compage solidavit.* Epitome, cap. 8.

Object; *ſo is the Huſband bound by the ſame Law*; *becauſe God hath joyned the Huſband to his Wife, by the union of one Body.* St. Ambroſe, (*a*) *Virginity hath its rewards, Widdowhood its merits*; *there is alſo place for conjugal Chaſtity.* The (*b*) Apoſtle *commands a Biſhop to be the Huſband of one Wife*; *not that he excludeth an unmarried Man, for that is not the ſence of his Precept, but that by conjugal Chaſtity he may preſerve the grace given him in Baptiſm.*

(*a*) *Sunt ergo virginitatis præmia, ſunt merita viduitatis, eſt etiam conjugali pudicitiæ locus.* Epiſt 82. ad *Vercell.*

(*b*) *Qui unius uxoris virum præcipit eſſe, non quo exortem excludat conjugii, nam hoc ſupra legem præcepit eſt*: *ſed ut conjugali caſtimonia ſervet ablutionis ſuæ gratiam.* Ibid. ante Med.

If then Chaſtity is common both to Marriage and Celibacy, the latter can have no intrinſick Excellence beyond the former: Nor indeed do our more judicious Adverſaries pretend to that. Few are guilty of ſo foul an errour, except ſome zealous and unlearned Monks. The Excellence therefore of it is wholly accidental, and conſiſts only in affording greater advantages of Piety, Knowledge, and Beneficence, than Marriage. This therefore is next to be examined. Let us then conſider any one as a Man, a Chriſtian, and a Prieſt. If in the firſt quality, as a Member and Citizen of Mankind, that eſtate will deſerve the preheminence, which is moſt communicative of good, and beneficial to the whole Univerſe. The benefits of Celibacy are indirect, accidental, and rare; thoſe of Marriage, direct, natural, and frequent. If as a Chriſtian, that ſtate will be moſt eligible, that more immediately procureth the grace and favour of God; this Celibacy directly affords to none; Marriage conferrs on all, in the Opinion of the Church of *Rome*, who make it a Sacrament. If as a Prieſt, that ſtate is preferrable, which giveth the greater and more diffuſive Example to the Laity. A Vertuous Celibacy will be indeed Exemplary to Virgin Laicks, the ſmalleſt and moſt inconſiderable part of the Church: But then a prudent and religious conduct of Marriage will ſerve as a Rule for other married Perſons, the far greater part of the Laick Church.

Thus far the Merits of both are at leaſt equal. If we recurr to the Authority of Examples, we may begin at Paradice, and the firſt ſtate of Mankind. Here we find a married Couple even in the ſtate of Innocence, and the very firſt Bleſſing given by God unto Mankind, to be this, (a) *Be fruitful, and multiply.* And as it can be no laudable Ambition, to deſire to exceed the Piety and Innocence of Paradice, ſo neither can it be any great Perfection, to defeat the firſt Bleſſing of the Creation. If we deſcend hence until the Times of *Moſes*, we ſhall find all the Patriarchs both before and after the Flood, to have pleaſed God, and ſerved their Generations at the ſame time. All this while Celibacy hath no Example, nor any one Preſident. If we look into the Moſaick Law, Marriage was there expreſly permitted, and indirectly commanded to the Prieſt, ſince none but their own Poſterity could be admitted into that Order. I am not ignorant that the Patrons of Celibacy urge mightily the Three days Abſtinence (b) from their Wives, impoſed upon the People, in preparing themſelves to receive the Law of God in *Mount Sinai*. But this was enjoyned not only to the Prieſts, but to all the People; was a ſhort and temporary, not a total and perpetual Abſtinence; ſerved only to typifie that inſeparable Purity of Mind and Body, which was to flouriſh in the Church of Chriſt; and was a meer Rite and Ceremony, unworthy of the dignity and ſimplicity of the Chriſtian Religion. Again, if we conſider the Saints and Prophets of the *Old Teſtament*, (c) St. *Chryſoſtom* will tell us, that *all the Prophets had Wives and Families, as* Eſaias, Ezekiel, *and the Great* Moſes; *and yet ſuffer'd therby no diminution of their Vertue.* Or if we take our meaſures from the venerable Examples of Chriſt and his Apoſtles, we may learn both from their Doctrine and Practice, that the Perfection of a Chriſtian ſtate conſiſts not in an idle and contemplative, but in an active and benefactive ſtate. That moſt, if not all the Apoſtles were Married, we ſhall prove hereafter;

(a) Gen. 1. 28.

(b) Exod. 19. 15.

(c) Καὶ οἱ Προφῆται δὲ πάντες, καὶ γυναῖκας εἶχον καὶ οἰκίας, ὡς ὁ Ἡσαΐας, ὡς ὁ Ἰεζεκιὴλ, ὡς ὁ μέγας Μωσῆς, καὶ οὐδὲν ἐντεῦθεν εἰς ἀρετὴν παρεζλάζησε. Mat. *Hom.* 56. *in fine.*

after; and if our Saviour choſe a Single ſtate, wherein to paſs his life on Earth, *Clemens Alex.* ſhall anſwer for us, (*a*) That He had his proper Spouſe, the Church; that He was no ordinary Man, who ſhould either want an help, or be ſubject to the temptations of Incontinency; that it was not neceſſary for him to continue his *Species* by Procreation, who was himſelf God, bleſſed for evermore. And then if we caſt our eyes upon the Worſhip and Opinion of the Gentiles, we ſhall find Celibacy in no great eſteem among them, and Marriage not only allowed to their Prieſt, but even made neceſſary to ſome of them; inſomuch as the *Pontifex Maximus* among the *Romans*, could continue no longer in his Office, than his Wife liv'd. (*b*) St. *Herom* indeed, and after him all the Champions of Celibacy, alledge the Exmple of the *Hierophantæ* of *Athens*. But had that good Father in the heat of his Diſputation, conſidered the Character of thoſe Prieſts, he would not have ventured to produce their Example. For if we may believe the Relations of *Lucian*, and the more Ancient Chriſtian Writers, thoſe *Hierophantæ* of *Greece* practiſed in their ſecret Rites and Myſteries, the moſt abominable Luſts and Villanies of the Pagan Superſtition. In ſpeaking of this matter, I will further obſerve, that there was but one great Order of Prieſts among the Heathens, which profeſſed Virginity, thoſe of *Cybele* or *Iſis* (for as for the Veſtal Virgins, they were permitted to marry, when their time of Service was expired,) and but one Sect of Philoſophers, that decried and contemned Marriage, the (*c*) *Epicureans*, and of theſe the firſt were the moſt Infamous and Incontinent of all Prieſts, the latter the moſt Debauched and Voluptuous of all Philoſophers.

(*a*) *Strom. l. 3. p. 446.*

(*b*) *Adv. Jovin. l. 1. in fin.*

(*c*) *Vid. Clem. Alex. Strom. l. 2. p. 421.*

Laſtly, If we conſult Reaſon (for Scripture we have before examieed, and Tradition we ſhall hereafter,) neither will that declare in favour of Celibacy. That will only teach us, that ſtate is more Noble, which moſt advanceth the Happineſs of Life, and gives the greateſt aſſiſtance to the Perfection of our Nature. For neither Marriage nor Celibacy have of themſelves any intrinſick

Merit, at leaſt not Celibacy, as we before proved: Neither of them doth immediately and directly illuminate the Underſtanding, refine the Reaſon, or purge the Will. Now the Happineſs of Human Life, and the Perfection of Nature, conſiſts in the tranquility and imperturbation of the Mind, whereby it is fitted for the Contemplation of her Creator, and the Exerciſe of all more noble and ſublime Vertues. This Tranquility, next to Habits of Vice in the Soul, is chiefly interrupted by immoderate and ungoverned Paſſions in the Body, although even thoſe Habits were produced at firſt by the intemperance of theſe Paſſions. The greateſt and moſt vehement of our Paſſions, are thoſe of Deſire, and among them the propenſity to the continuation of our *Species* obtains the firſt place. A right Uſe of Marriage ſatisfies this propenſity, allays its violence, ſecureth the Mind from all tempeſts on that ſide. This Celibacy can do only in thoſe who have the Gift of Continence, who perhaps are not the thouſandth part of Mankind; if thoſe be excepted, to whom not God or Vertue, but ſome defect of Nature, hath given a reprieve from this Paſſion. In the reſt, Celibacy, eſpecially when enforced, will be only the occaſion of perpetual, or at leaſt intermitting tempeſts, which inſtead of a ſweet Serenity, will introduce into the Mind a turbulent Commotion, diſorder all her Thoughts, and deprive her of all Happineſs: Or if we ſhould grant, which is moſt falſe, that Celibacy well governed, is in all able to give the Mind the ſame tranquility, and ſecure her from all perturbations ariſing from the paſſion of Deſire; yet ſtill the Merits and Advantages of Marriage and Celibacy will be equal, even in this Conſideration.

There remains then only arguments of temporal convenience, and outward decorum of the Church. And here though it might ſuffice to obſerve that arguments of convenience are of no validity againſt a probability of unlawfulneſs, much leſs againſt an expreſs Divine Permiſſion; yet ſhall I briefly examine the Reaſons of this kind produced by our Adverſaries. They may be reduced to three Heads: A greater immunity from ſecular cares and world-

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ly buſineſs, and thereby a better opportunity to attend the Service of God, and execute the Duties of their Office: Secondly, A certain indecency in the uſe of Marriage, which renders it incompatible or at leaſt inconvenient, to the Sacerdotal Office: Thirdly, The better adminiſtration of the goods and revenues of the Church. As for the Firſt that might indeed with ſome colour have been pleaded in the infancy of the Goſpel, when many of the Clergy were deſigned as itinerant Preachers, for the propagation of the Faith; although it was then ſo far from being neceſſary, that many of the Apoſtles did in their travels lead about with them, if not their wives, which is moſt probable, yet at leaſt women. But now when the Faith is planted, and the Clergy have particular limits aſſigned them wherein to execute their Office; that reaſon ceaſeth. Another caſe may happen wherein this argument may take place; in times of Perſecution, when 'tis of great advantage and intereſt to the Church, that her Clergy give examples of patience and conſtancy to their flock, and is very probable that a man will embrace Martyrdom with a greater reſolution and unconcernedneſs when freed from the ſolicitude of Wife and Children, whoſe conſideration and perhaps importunities might tempt him to Prevarication; but then Celibacy is here alſo ſo far from being neceſſary, that it will augment the Merits and the Glory of Martyrdom to break through thoſe Obſtacles, and ſlight thoſe Conſiderations. However, certain it is, that in the Peaceable and Flouriſhing Times of the Church: this Reaſon is of no Validity. Hence appeareth, with how little Reaſon our Adverſaries urge that ſo much celebrated Text of St. *Paul*, (a) *He that is Unmarried, careth for the things that belong to the Lord, how he may pleaſe the Lord.* An admonition by the Apoſtle adapted to thoſe times of Perſecution; as appears by the Preface of it: *But I would have you* (ſpeaking to all Chriſtians) *without Carefulneſs.* For otherwiſe, Marriage does not neceſſarily involve more Carefulneſs or Diſquiet, than Celebacy. If a greater Anxiety doth ordinarily attend it, that proceeds not from the nature of Marriage, but the abuſe of Men.

(a) 1 Cor. 7. 32.

Men. And therefore *Clemen, Alex.* (*a*) answers to the Ancient Hereticks urging this very Text against Marriage: *What then? Cannot those who please their Wives in a lawful way, give thanks to God? May not a Married Man, together with his Marriage, care for the things that belong to the Lord?* Further, these Texts do no more prove the Necessity or Convenience of Priests Celibacy, than it doth of all other Christians. Nor can it be here pretended, that the Clergy are more peculiarly devoted to the Service of God, and therefore more particularly obliged to this Duty. For, first, That would suppose some Excellency in Celibacy, which we have proved cannot be found; and then the Priests under the Old Law, were no less solemnly Dedicated to God, who yet were not debarred Marriage. Besides, the Church of *Rome* excludes not those from holy Orders, who have either Buried their Wives, or vow a perpetual Abstinence from them, although they may have many Children then alive: As if an equal Solicitude and Anxiety were not required to provide for Children begotten before as after Ordination. Not to say that the Ancient Hereticks made use of the same Plea, and shunned Marriage, to avoid the trouble of providing Necessaries for a Family; and that the Apostle was not ignorant of this inconvenience, if it be any, and yet thought it not sufficient to enjoyn Celibacy to the Clergy. But in truth it is a meer Chimæra, a Figment, and a vain Suspicion. For to use St. *Chrysostom*'s words (*b*) *Marriage doth not only not hinder the Practice of Divine Philosophy, if we will be sober, but also administers to us great Assistance in it, by calming the turbulencies of Nature, and not permitting it to be tossed in tempests, but preparing it a haven, wherein to ride securely. Wherefore God hath herein granted a Priviledge to Mankind.*

(*a*) Τί δὲ, οὐκ ἔξεστι καὶ τῇ γυναικὶ κατὰ θεὸν ἀρέσκοντας, εὐχαριστεῖν τῷ Θεῷ; οὐχὶ δὲ ἐφεῖται καὶ τῷ γεγαμηκότι σὺν καὶ τῇ συζυγίᾳ μεριμνᾶν τὰ τοῦ κυρίου. *Strom.* l. 3.

Τὴν περὶ τὴν ποριεμὸν τῶν ἐπιτηδείων ἀσχολίαν δεδιότες. *Clem. Alex. Stom.* l. 3. *in init.*

(*b*) Οὐ μόνον οὐδὲν ἡμῖν ἐμποδίσει πρὸς τὴν κατὰ θεὸν ἡμῖν φιλοσοφίαν, ἐὰν βουλόμεθα νήφειν ἀλλὰ καὶ πολλὴν ἡμῖν εἰσάγει τὴν παραμυθίαν, μαινομένην τὴν φύσιν καταστέλλουσα, &c. Hom. XXI in *Genes.*

Mankind. Again, if a Prieſt or Biſhop muſt therefore be Unmarried, that he may decline the Cares and Troubles of the World; then certainly with much more reaſon he ought not to intermeddle in Secular Buſineſs, and the Government of whole Provinces. For who can imagine that the government of a ſingle Family involves more care and trouble, than the adminiſtration of St. *Peter*'s Patrimony? Laſtly, I appeal to the Experience of the whole World, Whether the Regulars of the Church of *Rome*, who to their Vow of Continence have added another of Retirement from the World, do not buſie themſelves in Secular Matters, exerciſe Merchandiſe, and heap up Riches, beyond the Clergy of the Church of *England*?

The Second Reaſon alledged by our Adverſaries, is a certain indecency and impurity in the act of Marriage, which renders it unfitting for a Preiſt to proceed from the late embraces of his wife to the adminiſtration of holy things. So that becauſe the Clergy of the Chriſtian Church do either daily adminiſter the Sacraments, and offer up Scrifices of praiſe and thanſgiving to God, in the name of all the people; or at leaſt ought to be alwaies ready and prepar'd to do it: They ought therefore perpetually to abſtain from conjugal Duties. This was ever the chief Argument and Foundation of Celibacy. Popes and Councils in enjoyning it to the Clergy, ſeldom make uſe of any other than this; and all the enemies of Preiſts Marriage from the times of *Origen* to this day, have certainly plac'd it in the front of their Arguments. Yet after all it is a ſhameful and moſt fooliſh Sophiſm. For, if by this indecency and impurity in the uſe of Marriage, they mean a moral one; that is abſolutely falſe, and flat Hereſie: The very opinion of the *Marcionites*, *Encratites*, and other more abſurd Hereticks. But if they mean only a natural impuriy, that in no ways renders any man leſs fit for the Service of God, nor ought to exclude him from the adminiſtration of holy things, any more than the other more frequent evacuations of Nature. So groſs a conceit is unworthy the ſimplicity of the Chriſtian Religion, and makes it degenerate into the dregs of Judaiſm. Beſides,

if

if we ſhould ſuppoſe a natural impurity ſomewhat indecent in the Clergy (which yet is fooliſh to imagine of a ſecret and hidden impurity, ſuch as this is) yet will it be infinitely outweighed by the inevitable danger of a moral turpitude to which Preiſts are expos'd by enforc'd Celibacy. Laſtly, this Argument of the daily celebration of Maſs and conſecrating of the Euchariſt, affects not Deacons nor Subdeacons; and is entirely overthrown by the practice of the Church in the Apoſtolick and Primitive times; when all Baptized Chriſtians daily receiv'd the Euchariſt, and yet cannot be ſuppo'sd either to have been enjoyn'd or have uſed perpetual abſtinence from their wives.

The Third Reaſon is the better Oeconomy of the goods and revenues of the Church; which our Adverſaries would not have expended upon wife and children, but in publick acts of charity. This might indeed with ſome pretence be urg'd, if all the unmarried Clergy employed the ſuperfluity of their Revenues upon Piety and Charity, or none of the married Clergy did it, or if the well ordering of Families and good Education and decent proviſion for children were not of advantage to the Publick. But theſe are equally falſe. And then in vain are wives and children removed, when nephews and other relations can gain acceſs. The examples of the Court of *Rome*, eſpecially for the laſt two hundred years, demonſtrates that Popes have employed themſelves with greater zeal and fervour to the aggrandizing of their Families, than ever the married Clergy of the Reformed Churches did to the enriching of their Poſterity.

Thus have we examined the pretended advantages of the Clergies Celibacy, and found them to be null and vain. But ſuppoſe them valid, and really as great as they are repreſented to us by our Adverſaries. If after all it hath in other reſpects no leſs diſadvantages, Celibacy will yet remain indifferent, both in its nature and convenience. To paſs by therefore the inconvenience of Celibacy in general, as that it ordinarily produceth Moroſneſs, Pride and Uncharitableneſs, to ſay nothing worſe, when affected and choſen as a matter of Merit,

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as (*a*) *Clemens Alex.* of old obſerved: I ſhall conſider only the particular inconveniences ariſing from the enforced Celibacy of the Clergy, and mention but Two of them; but thoſe ſo great and ſenſible, that each of them infinitely outweigheth all the pretended advantages of it. The Firſt is the inevitable and moſt certain danger of open Incontinence in many of the Clergy, and thereby introducing a horrible Scandal into the Church of Chriſt, which may alone more effectually obſtruct Piety and Vertue among the Laity, than the Preaching of all together can promote it. For all ignorant Chriſtians, which are the far greater part of the Church, are led more by Examples than Reaſon, and aſſent to the Chriſtian Religion meerly for the authority of their Paſtors that Propoſe it. So that the Scandal cauſed by the Luſt of one Incontinent Prieſt, is more dangerous to the Church, than the Celibacy of an hundred Chaſte Prieſts can be advantageous to it. Now that forced Celibacy betrays the Clergy to open Incontinency, let St. *Bernard* ſpeak. (*b*) *Take from the Church honourable Marriage, and the Bed undefiled; Do you not fill it with Fornicators, inceſtuous Perſons, Abuſers of themſelves, Sodomites, and all kind of uncleanneſs?* This Experience hath alſo ſadly demonſtrated, as we may hereafter ſhew. The Second inconvenience of forced Celibacy, is that it deprives the Church of the ſervice of many Pious and Learned Men; who either being already married, will not conſent to ſeparate themſelves from ther Wives; or being yet ſingle, will not receive Orders upon the terms of Celibacy, as either finding that they have not the Gift of Continency, or doubting whether they ſhall always have it. The lamentable Effects of this Truth in *England* and *Germany*, in the Eleventh and Twelfth Ages, we ſhall afterwards have occaſion to mention.

(*a*) Συνορῶ δ' ὅπως τῇ προφάσει τοῦ γάμου οἱ ἀπεχημένοι τούτου μὴ κτῶν τὴν ἁγίαν γνῶσιν εἰς μισανθρωπίαν ὑπερρύησε, καὶ τὸ τῆς ὀργέπης εἶχεν παρ' αὐτοῖς. *Strom.* l. 3.

(*b*) *Tolle de eccleſiæ honorabile connubium & torum immaculatum, nonne reples eam concubinariis, inceſtuoſis, ſeminifluis, mollibus, maſculorum concubitoribus, & omni denique genere immundorum?* Serm. 66. in Cantica poſt. init.

Lastly, Suppose that Celibacy had all the aforementioned Advantages, and none of the Inconveniences; yet still if Marriage hath peculiar advantages, which Celibacy wants, both will remain indifferent, and neither to be preferred. That Marriage hath such, cannot be denied. For not to say, that Marriage, in the Opinion of the Church of *Rome*, actually confers Grace, and was chosen by Christ to be a Type of his Mystical Union with the Church; not to urge the precedent Arguments, nor produce a-new the Authority of St. *Chysostom*; not to say, that the vertuous Marriage of a Priest may be highly exemplary to his People, since the Effects of it are visible and manifest in the prudent Government of his Family, and the pious Education of his Children; whereas Continence, which is the Perfection of Celibacy, is a Vertue of the Soul, invisible, and hidden from the Eyes of Men, and so cannot be properly Exemplary. To pass by all this, I will I will alledge only the Authority of *Clemes Alex.* in these words. (*a*) *Marriage, as well as Celibacy, hath its peculiar offices and duties pleasing to God, God, I mean the care of Children and Wife. Whence the Apostle commandeth those to be chosen Bishops, who from the vertuous government of their own Families, have learned to preside over the Church well.* (*b*) *And in truth, a Man approveth not himself in chusing a single Life; but he transcends the ordinary rank of Men, who useth Marriage, and the procreation of Cildren, and the government of a Family, without immoderate affection or anxiety; and notwithstanding the care of his House, is unalterable from the love of God, and bravely resists all the temptations of Wife and Children, Servants and Possessions.*

Ἐγκράτεια ψυχῆς ἀρετὴ ἡ οὐκ ἐν φανερῷ ἀλλ, ἐν ἀπόκρυφῳ. *Clem. Alex. Snrom.* l. 3.

(*a*) Ἔχει γὰρ ὥσπερ ἡ εὐνουχία οὕτω καὶ ὁ γάμος ἰδίας λειτουργίας καὶ διακονίας τῷ κυρίῳ διαφερούσας, τέκνων λέγω κήδεσθαι καὶ γυναικὸς, &c. *Strom.* l. 3.

(*b*) Καὶ τῷ ὄντι ἀνὴρ οὐκ ἐν τῷ μονήρη ἐπανεῖσθαι δείκνυται βίον, ἀλλ' ἐκεῖνος ἄνδρας νικᾷ, ὁ γάμῳ, καὶ παιδοποιΐᾳ, καὶ τῇ τοῦ οἴκου προνοίᾳ ἀνηδόνως τε καὶ ἀλυπήτως ἐγγυμνασάμενος, μετὰ τῆς τοῦ οἴκου κηδεμονίας ἀδιάστατος τῆς τοῦ Θεοῦ γενόμενος ἀγάπης, &c. *Strom.* l. 7.

Having

Having thus proved that the Celibacy of the Clergy was neither inſtituted by Chriſt nor his Apoſtles, and hath no excellence in it ſelf, or convenience to the Church: I proceed to the Third Propoſition, That the Impoſition of it upon any Order of men, is unjuſt and repugnant to the Law of God. And here becauſe the poſſibility of Continence in all will intervene as the main Queſtion, I will divide my Diſcourſe, and prove,

I. That the Church hath no Authority to Inhibit Marriage to the Clergy, even ſuppoſing that all can contain.

II. That all cannot contain, and conſequently that to impoſe Celibacy upon any Order of men, made up of all Ages, Conſtitutions and Humours, is directly contrary to Reaſon, Juſtice, and the Law of God.

I. Firſt then, the Church hath no Authority to forbid Marriage to the Clergy, even ſuppoſing that all men may by due diligence obtain the gift of Continence. This may be evidently deduc'd from what was laſt proved. For the Church cannot challenge a greater Authority than the Apoſtles had. But their Authority, as we are aſſured by (a) St. *Paul*, was given them only *for Edification and not for Deſtruction.* Not that the Impoſition of Celibacy tends not to the edification of the Church, we have already proved, that it naturally tends to the deſtruction of many members of the Church is manifeſt. For in ſo numerous a Body as the Clergy is, 'tis morally impoſſible that many of them ſhould not neglect thoſe means whereby the gift of Continence may be acquired, and thereby falling into Inconinency loſe their own Souls, and by their Scandal and Example draw many into Perdition with them: Whereas had Marriage been permitted them, both would in all probability have been prevented. Indeed if the edification ariſing from the impoſition or prohibition of any thing indifferent be obvious and evident, and the deſtruction either none, or dubious and uncertian; or even if the edification be uncertain, ſo as there be not the leaſt

(a) 2 Cor. 10. 8.

danger of deſtruction; or perhaps even although both edification and deſtruction were equally dubious; the decrees of the Church in all theſe caſes ought to take place: For otherwiſe a door would be left open for the obſtinate contradiction of fooliſh and unreaſonable men. But in this caſe the edification produced by the Celibacy of the Clergy is, as we have proved, none, or at leaſt, infinitely dubious: Whereas the danger of deſtruction, which may be cauſed by it, is moſt certain, manifeſt, and apparent. Secondly, The Church cannot totally deprive any man of the liberty of enjoying any lawful and natural pleaſures; nor take from him any of thoſe comforts and benefits, which nature and the right of creation firſt gave him and intended for him. She may reſtrain and limit the uſe of them as to time and place, but can by no means totally aboliſh it. So the Church may forbid fleſh to be eaten, or Marriage to be contracted at ſome certain ſeaſons of the year; but as ſhe cannot enjoyn to any man a perpetual abſtinence from fleſh; ſo neither can ſhe totally forbid Marriage to any order of men. For this is contrary to the very genius and conſtitution of the Chriſtian Religion; whoſe peculiar glory is the ſimplicity of it, and the entire conformity in all the *Agenda* of it to the law of nature. Thirdly, Whatſoever may be pretended for inhibiting Marriage to the unmarried Clergy, the Church moſt certainly cannot diſſolve the Marriage of thoſe, who never made any vow of of continence, and were lawfully married before the prohibition of the Church: Since our Saviour expreſly ſaith (*a*) *What God hath joyned together, let no man put aſunder.* Yet the Church of *Rome* did this in the Eleventh and Twelfth Ages, when many Popes and Councils commanded the married Clergy to be ſeparated from their wives upon pain of Excommunication, not permitting them to retain their wives, by relinquiſhing their Offices, and retiring into Lay Communion: Although the Clergy in their Remonſtrance offered to *Nicolas* II. proteſted that they had never made any vow of Continence, and could not contain without the uſe of Marriage. I know it is pretended, that the

(*a*) Mat. 19. 6.

Clergy

Clergy in receiving Orders, are ſuppoſed to have made a Tacite and Interpretative Vow of Chaſtity. But the vanity of that pretence, I ſhall manifeſt immediately. Other Reaſons might be produced, but theſe are ſufficient.

II. All Men cannot contain, and therefore to impoſe Celibacy upon any Order of Men is injuſt, and contrary to the Divine Law. For all Perſons who cannot contain, have a right to Marry by the Law of Nature, that they may not be neceſſitated to Sin; and are commanded to Marry by the Law of God. (*b*) *But if they cannot contain, let them Marry: For it is better to Marry, than to Burn.* (*b*) Cor. 8. 9.

In impoſing Celibacy therefore upon the Clergy, the Church of *Rome* forbids many to Marry, whom God commands to do it. Now that all Men cannot contain, appears from this very place of the Apoſtle, which Inſinuates that in ſome Perſons, there is no Medium between Marriage and Burning; but it is evident beyond all contradiction from the Reaſon of this Permiſſion of Marriage aſſigned in the precedent Verſe: (*a*) *For I would that all Men were even as myſelf:* (that is, Continent.) *But every Man hath his proper Gift of God; one after this manner, and another after that.* (*a*) Ver. 7.

Our Saviour expreſly Teacheth the ſame thing, when to the Apoſtles objecting, That if the the Caſe were ſo, it is not good to Marry. He anſwered, (*b*) *All Men cannot receive this ſaying, ſave they to whom it is given.* And, *He that is able to receive it, let him receive it.* (*b*) Mat. 19. 11, 12.

God hath obliged himſelf indeed by Promiſe, to Confer upon us all Graces neceſſary for the performance of our Duty, and attainment of Salvation; but the gift of Continence is not of this Nature, ſince God hath provided Marriage for a remedy of Incontinency; which if we will not make uſe of, the danger lieth at our own Doors, God is no further obliged. Indeed, if through any Accident, which diſables either of the Married Perſons, Marriage fails to be a remedy of Incontinency, (which our Adverſaries frequently Object) God muſt be them ſuppoſed to have obliged himſelf to beſtow the gift of Continence when duly asked, becauſe in that caſe he hath provided no other Remedy. So that the Argument

of

(c) *Seſſ.* 24. *Can.* 9. of the Council of *Trent*, that, *God will not deny this Gift to thoſe that rightly ask it, as having promiſed, not to ſuffer us to be tempted above what we are able*; is wholly Impertinent. Since God thereby obliged himſelf to no more than with the Temptation alſo to make a way to eſcape, not that way which we beſt like, for that is not promiſed, and is highly unreaſonable, but which Himſelf pleaſeth: And that he hath abundantly done, in Aſſigning the eaſie and natural way of Marriage. As for *Bellarmine*'s Argument, That whoſoever deſireth the gift of Continence, thereby to form a Habit of it, and that God will not be wanting to Crown our honeſt endeavours with a perfect Poſſeſſion of it: That is many ways falſe. For, firſt, A deſire of Continence rather ſuppoſeth, that we yet want it. Then it is not an Honeſt Endeavour to covet all kind of Divine Gifts, but only thoſe which are Neceſſary; as it would not be laudable now to deſire the gift of Tongues, meerly for Oſtentation. (d) *But as God hath diſtributed to every Man, ſo let him Walk.* Laſtly, God Crowns not all even Honeſt Deſires with with a grant of them. For ſuppoſe any Man ſhould out of the abundance of his Charity deſire the gift of Miracles, meerly to cure the Diſeaſes, relieve the Neceſſities, and remove the Errours of Mankind, without any admixture of Intereſt or Ambition therein; yet would it be Irrational to expect the performance of it. As for that place (which is urged by ſome) *I would that all Men were even as myſelf.* That no more proves the poſſibility of Continence in all, than that other place: (e) *I would that ye all ſpeak with Tongues*; doth, *that all can obtain the gift of Tongues.*

(d) 1 Cor. 7. 17.

(e) 1 Cor. 14. 5.

The Ancients thought the ſame thing. So St. Ambroſe, (a) *Virginity is rather in our Wiſh, than in our Power.* St. *Hirome*, even when diſputing for Celibacy, freqently grants that all cannot contain; more eſpecially in theſe words: (b) *Fear not*

(a) *Virginitas in voto magis eſt quam in magiſterio. De Virginib. l.* 1.

(b) *Noli metuere ne omnes virgines fiant: difficilis res eſt Virginitas, & ideo quia rara, difficilis. Multi vocati, pauci electi, Incipere plurimorum eſt, perſeverare paucorum. Si omnes Virgines eſſe poſſent, nunquam & Dominus diceret. Qui poteſt capere, capiat; & Apoſtolus in ſuadendo non trepidaret. De Virginibus autem præceptum Domini non habeo.* Adv. Jovin. l. 1. c. 21.

that

that all will become Virgins. Virginity is a difficult thing, and therefore rare, becauſe difficult. Many are called, but few choſen: Many begin, but few can perſevere. If all could be Virgins, our Lord would never have ſaid, He that is able to receive it, let him receive it. And the Apoſtle would not have doubted in perſuading it, nor ſaid, Now concerning Virgins, I have no Commandment from the Lord.

St. Bernard, (c) *Would to God, they who begin this Tower would ſit down, and better compute the Coſts, leaſt perhaps they have not ſufficient to finiſh it. Would thoſe who cannot contain, would dread raſhly to profeſs Perfection, or undertake Celibacy. For the Tower is Coſtly, and the Saying is great, which all cannot receive. It were undoubtedly better for them to Marry, than to Burn.* Upon this account they thought Virginity not lawful to be commanded, and even in its nature incapable of Impoſition. So the Author of the Commentaries upon of St. *Paul*'s Epiſtles, extant among St. *Ambroſe*'s Works, whom all agree to have been *Hilary*, Deacon of *Rome*, under Pope *Liberius*, delivers his Opinion. (d) *For that reaſon none ought to be obliged to Continence, leaſt being reſtrained from what is lawful, he commit things unlawful. But let him chuſe for himſelf, what he will follow.* St. *Hierom*, (e) *The Apoſtle in perſuading Virginity, lays not a neceſity or a ſnare upon any. For that is beyond the power of Men, and would be as it were impudence to compel againſt nature, and ſay in other words; I would have you be, what Angels are.* (f) *Wonder not therefore, if amidſt the proneneſs of the fleſh, and incentives of Vices, we are not Commanded but Taught the Life of Angels.* St. Ambroſe, (g) *'Tis Virgi-*

(c) *Utinam magis turrim inchoaturi ſedentes computarent, ne forte ſumptus non habeant ad perficiendum. Utinam qui concinere non valent, perfectionem temerariè profiteri, aut cœlibatui dare nomina verentur. Sumptuoſa ſiquidem turris eſt, & verbum grande, quod non omnes capere poſſunt. Eſſet autem ſine dubio melius nubere quam uri.* De *Converſ.* ad *Cleric.* cap. 29.

(d) *Ideo non delet quis conſtringi, ne ab licito prohibitus, illicita admittat: Sed ipſe ſibi eligat quid ſequatur.* Comm. in 1. Ep. ad Cor. cap. 7.

(e) *Neq; tamen alicui neceſſitatem imponit aut laqueum. —— Quia ultra homines eſt, & quodammodo impudentis erat adverſum naturam cogere, alioque modo dicere, Volo vos eſſe, quod angeli ſunt.* Adv. Helvid. cap. 10.

(f) *Noli igitur admirari, ſi inter titillationem carnis, & incentiva vitiorum, angelorum vitam non exigimur ſed docemur.* Adv. Jovin. l. 1.

(g) *Sola eſt enim Virginitas, quæ ſuaderi poteſt, imperari non poteſt, res magis voti quam præcepti. Exhort. ad Virgines poſt init.*

nity

nity alone which can be perswaded, cannot be commanded; a matter rather of Wish than Precept. Clemens Alex. (*a*) *Of necessity therefore Marriage must not be forbidden.* *Theodoret* upon those words, (*b*) *In the latter days, some shall depart from the faith* —— *Forbidding to marry,* saith. (*c*) *The Apostle blames not here Celibacy or Continence, but condemneth those who compel to use them.* Pope *Gregory* I. (*d*) *It seemeth harsh and unfit to me, that he who hath not obtained a habit of Continence, or promis'd Chastity, should be compelled to separate from his Wife, and thereby fall into worse crimes, which God forbid.* The Second Council of (*e*) *Toledo,* Anno 531. declare, *That they have no power to take away from those who desire to marry, the permission granted by the Apostles.* Lastly, (*f*) *Panormitan* determines, *The Pope, even with the greater part of a Council, cannot enjoyn Continence to any Order of Persons after their promotion, if they resist and refuse; because Continence is a thing which can be perswaded, but cannot be commanded.* Upon the same Principle, of the Impossibility of Continence in many, proceeded most of those many Fathers, whom we shall presently produce for the validity of Marriage Contracted after a Vow of Continence. I deny not, that many of the Fathers believed it possible for all to obtain the Gift of Continence; but that doth not in the least prejudice my Argument. For the Church cannot lawfully impose Celibacy upon any, unless it be a point of Faith, that all can contain; which the Dissent of those Doctors I have already produced, evidently manifest it is not.

(*a*) Ἐπανάγκες μὲν οὖν οὐ κωλυτέον γαμεῖν. *Strom.* l. 3.

(*b*) *Tim.* 4. 13.

(*c*) Οὐδὲ γὰρ τὴν ἀγαμίαν καὶ τὴν ἐγκράτειαν διαβάλλει, ἀλλὰ τῶν ἀναγκαζόντων ταῦτα μετέναι κατεγορεῖ. *Comm. in loc.*

(*d*) *Mihi durum atque incompetens videtur, ut qui usum continentiæ non invenit, neque castitatem ante promisit, compellatur à sua uxore separari, atque per hoc, quod absit, in deterius cadat.* l. 1. ep. 42.

(*e*) *His autem quibus voluntas propria desiderium nubendi persuaserit, concessam ab Apostolis licentiam auferre non possumus. Can.* 2.

(*f*) *Papa etiam cum majore parte concilii non poterit indicere continentiam certo generi personarum post promotionem eis resistentibus & reluctantibus: quia continentia est res, quæ potest persuaderi, imperari autem non. Caus.* 32. *qu.* 1. *cap. Integritas.*

If

If it be objected, that the acquiſition of Continence is poſſible to all, by the uſe of frequent Watchings, long Faſts, and other great auſterities: I anſwer, firſt, it may be perhaps juſtly queſtioned, whether it be lawful to afflict the body with thoſe auſterities, which are in ſome Perſons neceſſary to the attainment of Chaſtity. For the Soul ought ſweetly to guide and direct, not tyrannize over the Body; which was given as a Companion, not a Slave to it. Here, as in all other Actions, Reaſon ought to preſcribe limits to the government of the Soul. Now ſuch a Mortification as is neceſſary to deſtroy Luſt in incontinent Perſons, will at the ſame time deſtroy their Health, and conſequently more hinder the ſervice of God, the practice of Vertue, the exerciſe of Piety, , than a ſingle Life can promote it, or Marriage would obſtruct it. Secondly, If it ſhould be lawful for the Soul voluntarily to exerciſe this Arbitrary Power upon the Body, yet moſt certainly it is unlawful for the Church to impoſe any thing, which will induce a neceſſity of offering violence to Nature, weakning the energy of the Soul, heaping diſeaſes upon the Body, and diſſolving the harmony of Both. Thirdly, All are not able to undergo theſe Auſterities; and when undergon, they are not always ſufficient to prevent Incontinency. The frequent repetition of them, demonſtrates this; which would be uſeleſs and fooliſh, if the diſeaſe did not as often recurr. Not Watchings or Faſtings, not Whippings or even Emaſculation itſelf, practiſed of old by *Origen*, and the *Valeſian* Hereticks, and in the laſt Age by (a) *Ambroſius Morales*, can wholly eradicate in ſome this peccant humour. It muſt needs have been a very violent paſſion, the indignation of which could extort ſo ſevere a remedy; which when it was uſed, did effectually indeed preſerve the Body, but not in the leaſt diminiſh the Luſt of Mind. (b) *Yet it is the Mind which either ſanctifies or pollutes the Body. For what doth it profit to have the Body clean, and the Soul polluted, whenas the Body is either ſaved or damned by the merits*

(a) *Thuan. Hiſt. l. 99. in fin.*

(b) *Animus eſt enim qui aut Sanctificat aut polluit Corpus. Quid enim prodeſt Corpus mundum habere, & animam pollutam? Cum merito animæ aut honoratur Corpus aut damnatur.* Hilarius Diac. Comm. in 1 Epiſt. ad Cor. c. 7.

of the Soul. As for all other severities, how ineffectual they are, in some Constitutions, (c) *Palladius* relates a memorable Story of *Moses*, a most Famous Abbot in the Desarts of *Egypt*, afterwards made Bishop of the *Arabians*; whom *Palladius* calls, *the Blessed*; *Theodoret*, (d) *the Divine Moses*, who from his Youth perpetually vexed with temptations of Incontinency, could not free himself from them by all the austerities which Wit could invent, or Nature endure; and therefore all his life was forced to abstain from receiving the Sacrament; till in his Old Age he was by an extraordinary Miracle delivered from them. Upon which *Palladius* makes this Remark: *For in truth Concupiscence is perfectly untameable.*

(c) *Hist. Lausiac.* c. 22.

(d) *Hist. Eccl.* l. 4. c. 20.

Τῷ ὄντι γὰρ ἀληθῶς ἀκόλαστος ἐπιθυμία.

But the great Plea of the Writers of the Church of *Rome*, remains behind, which must be more largely discussed. They pretend that the Church imposeth Celibacy, or a Necessity of Continence, upon no Man: That she hath annexed it indeed to the four Superior Orders of the Clergy, but then forceth none to enter into those Orders: That the Unlawfulness of the Clergies Marriage, is not so much founded in the Prohibition of the Church, or Incompatibility of Marriage with Holy Orders, as in the Vow of Continence, which all either do make, or are supposed to make, when they receive those Orders. To this I shall Oppose, and in order Prove these Three Propositions.

I. This Plea cannot justly be used by the Church of *Rome*, nor will excuse her Practice.

II. A Vow of Continence obligeth not in case of insuperable Incontinence, and then may not only lawfully, but must necessarily be violated.

III. Whether lawfully or unlawfully, necessarily or unnecessarily violated, if Marriage be Contracted after a Vow of Continence, it is firm and valid, and cannot be rescinded.

For

I. For the First, That this Plea neither belongs to, nor availeth the Church of *Rome*, it appeareth many ways. As First, Although it should be granted the Church of *Rome* directly imposeth Celibacy upon none; yet it cannot be denied that she forbiddeth all who have once made a Vow of Continence, ever after to violate it, although in case of Incontinence; when the impossibility of observing it any longer without actual sin, maks the violation of it become necessary and commanded by the Law of God. Secondly, She hath actually and often imposed Continence upon those who never vowed it; as when she first enjoyned Celibacy to the Clergy, and renewed that Injunction when become obsolete. Nor can she at this day be excused from the same Imposition, since a numerous society of Clergymen are necessary to the being and continuance of the Church, and she hath enjoyned Celibacy to all who will be Members of this Society; although it be uncertain, whether there be so many continent Persons in the Church, as are necessarily required to execute the Ministery of it; much more, whether among all continent Christians there be so many both worthy and willing to receive Orders, as may serve the necessities of the Church. Thirdly, Whether the Church commands any to make a Vow of Continence, or forbids them to violate it when made? Both equally defeat all the great Advantages and glorious Merits which are pretended to be in Celibacy. For nothing can be either acceptable or meritorious, which is not purely voluntary, neither commanded nor punished by any human Laws. Otherwise it can never appear, whether the Action proceeds from the Dictates of the Will, or rather from the Awe of that Command, and the Fear of that Punishment. And therefore St. *Hierom* introduceth Christ thus speaking, (a) *Those Eunuchs please me, which Will, not Necessity, hath emasculated.* Whereas in the Church of *Rome*, none can be admitted into the Four Great Orders, nor yet in the Three Lesser Orders enjoy any Ecclesiastical Benifices or Privileges of Clergymen,

(a) *Mihi illi Eunuchi placent, quos castravit non necessitas sed voluntas.* l. 1. adv. Jovin.

men, unleſs they Vow perpetual Continence. Nor is it permitted to the former ever to violate their Vow, by Contracting of Marriage, although they ſhould reſign their Preferments, and depart from the Execution of their Office. Fourthly, which is chiefly to be reſpected, It can never appear that any Vow is truly made by thoſe who are ordained, if the Church commandeth all ſuch to make that Vow. For a Vow is the peculiar, voluntary, and free act of him that Voweth, as being a Promiſe made to God, and conſiſteth in the internal Action of the Soul, which neceſſarily ſuppoſeth an Intention of Vowing. So that if any Perſon pronouncing the Form of the Vow, ſhould either not mind what he ſaith, or at the ſame time reſolve the contrary of what he ſaith; the firſt is guilty of Negligence, the ſecond of a Lye; but neither can truly be ſaid to have Vowed, and therefore if they afterwards Marry, do violate no Vow. This *Scotus*, *Durandus*, *Dorbellus*, *Paludanus*, and other Divines of the Church of *Rome*, do expreſly teach, and for this very reaſon maintain, that Marriage is unlawful to the Clergy, not upon the account of any Vow annexed to their Orders, but meerly for the authority of the Church's Prohibition.

As for a tacit and interpretative Vow, which many recurr to, ſuppoſing a Vow of Continence to be inſeparably annexed to Orders; ſo that theſe cannot be received but that at the ſame time a Vow muſt be ſuppoſed to have been made; that is wholly vain. This refuge was invented as well to avoid the Reaſon laſt mentioned, as to ſolve an Objection drawn from the Practice of the Church of *Rome*, which even for the laſt Six Hundred years have not always required an explicit Vow, nor doth at this day, although many Popes have enjoyned it to be openly and expreſly made; but their Decrees meeting with great Oppoſition, they were forced to let them fall, and recurr to this Expedient of an Interpretative Vow. This Vow muſt be annexed to Orders, either by Divine Right, or only by the Command of the Church. If the former, that were indeed ſufficient, but then it is abſolutely

absolutely false, as we proved in the first Proposition; and *Bellarmine* (*a*) expressly acknowledgeth; and may be further evinced by this Argument, that then neither the Church nor the Pope could grant a Dispensation of Marriage to any of the Clergy. If it be annexed only by Ecclesiastical Right or Command of the Church, then our former Argument will return with more force. For he who in receiving of Orders shall omit to make that tacit Vow, will not be guilty of so much as a Lye or Dissimulation. He neglected indeed the command of the Church; but a Vow he neither made, nor pretended to make. So that there remains only a presumptive Vow; the truth of which resides in every mans breast and conscience: So that none ought to be excluded from Marriage by a Vow, even supposing it valid and inviolable, but those who shall confess they made it. And therefore the Author of the Gloss (*b*) upon the Decretals of *Gregory* IX. professeth that himself, and many other Doctors with him, cannot imagine how the Clergy of the Western Church can be said to be obliged by Vow to Continence. This were enough to silence the Plea of a tacit Vow: yet I shall add somewhat more, as first, The II. Council of *Toledo* Decrees that none be looked upon to have vowed Continence, but those who being asked by the Bishop promise it, *Coram tota plebe*, before the whole Congregation: And all Councils which command a Vow to be taken by the Clergy at their Ordination, order it to be made openly in the face of the whole Church.

(*a*) *Decretum, quo votum annexum est ordinibus, non quidem proprie divinum est.* Controv. Tom II. l. c. 18.

(*b*) Decret. Greg. l. 3. tit. 3. cap. Cum olim.

(*c*) Can. 1.

Secondly, in the *Primitive Church* many were Ordained violently and against their wills. So St. *Augustine* (*d*) tells *Donatus*, *That many were apprehended to be ordained Bishops, kept in hold against their wills, dragged, shut up, and imprisoned, and suffer all this unwillingly, till they be forced to receive Ordination.* So was St. *Augustine* himself (*e*) seized upon violently by the people of *Hippo*, dragged into their Bishop *Valerius*, and ordained amidst abundance of tears.

(*d*) *Multi ut Episcopatum suscipiant, tenentur inviti, perducuntur, includuntur, custodiuntur, patiuntur tanta quæ nolunt, donec eis adsit voluntas suscipiendi operis boni.* Ep. 204. *in init.*

(*e*) Possid. in Vit. Aug. ca. 4.

tears. So *Epiphanius* ordained *Paulinianus* Brother of St. *Hierom*, as himself confesseth. For seeing him present at Divine Service, without the least apprehension of any such violence intended against him, he commanded the Deacons to apprehend him, and hold his mouth with their hands, and in that posture ordained him Deacon; and immediately after he had with many Intreaties perswaded him to do somewhat at the Altar belonging to the Office of a Deacon, commanded him to be anew apprehended, and in the same manner ordained him Priest. Now shall such Clergy-men as these be thought to have made a tacit Vow of Continence at their Ordinations, or must they forfeit all right of marrying, or if already married, must their marriage be dissolved, and against their will by the violence of others.

(a) Epist. ad Hier. inter Hieronym Opp. Tom. II. p. 156.

Thirdly, Almost all the Divines of the Church of *Rome* agree that Children are capable of receiving Holy Orders. Many Examples of it have been seen in that Church; and at this day (b) great numbers of Children are ordained Priests and Deacons in the Abyssine Church.

(b) Alvarez. Hist. Æthiop.

Fourthly, (c) *Gregory Thaumaturgus* was ordained Bishop of *Neocæsarea* by *Phædimus* of *Amasea*, absent, and not so much as dreaming of it. Now shall either he or those Children be presumed to have made a Vow of Continence at their Ordination, when the first were not capable of making a Vow, the second did not know that he was ordained?

(c) Greg. Nyssen. in vita ejus p. 976.

Lastly, Supposing this Vow to have been openly and explicitely made, granting it to have been intended, and none of all these many necessary Circumstances wanting, yet will it not oblige, if it be not accepted by God. For that the Vow is made to God, not to the Church, all agree; so that if it be not accepted by God, it becomes only a simple Resolution of the Mind, which every man hath a right to change as he shall see good. Now we cannot be assured God accepts this Vow, unless it be either for some excellency and holiness in Celebacy, or because himself commanded it, both which we before disproved. Nay, rather

ther seeing it draws many into open Incontinency, and exposeth all to the danger of it, it is prejudicial to the honour of God, to imagine that he accepts, much less delights in such Vows: At least there is no promise of acceptance, and therefore the Obligation of these Vows will ever be uncertain.

I pass to the Second Proposition, that a Vow of Continence obligeth not in case of insuperable Incontinence. For no man can be obliged by Vow, or even the greatest Authority upon Earth to commit a sin, which in this case will be inevitable, unless the Vow be violated. And that cases of insuperable Incontinence without the use of Marriage may and do often happen, I proved before, when I demonstrated that all cannot contain. And certainly if in temporal Affairs no Vow, Contract or Promise obligeth in case of a natural impossibility, much more will it not oblige in case of moral impossibility; by how much the Vertues of the Soul are of more concern than the conveniencies of the Body. But I will not further enlarge upon this Argument, which is in it self so evident; I choose rather to observe, that it is highly probable that not only in case of impossibility, but even of great and apparent difficulty a Vow of Continence ceaseth to oblige. For first, all the Defenders of the Pope's dispensing power proceed upon this foundation, that Circumstances may alter the Obligation of a Vow; and that when a greater good is to be attained, it ceaseth to oblige. And indeed this is highly reasonable: For if circumstances can alter the nature of Actions as to Vice and Vertue, which is on all hands granted, then a Vow which in some circumstances may be laudable, or at least lawful, may in others become unlawful, or at least not obligatory. Now in case of violent, although perhaps not insuperable, temptations of Incontinence after a Vow of Chastity, the circumstances of him that Vows are altered; and by violating the Vow, a greater good may be attained, serenity of Mind, freedom from unruly Passions, and an escape from the danger of Sin. Not in this only, but in many other cases also, the diversity of circumstances may change the Obligation

Obligation of a Vow. Whence *Aquinas* determines, That (a) *Because in matters belonging to himself, a Man is easily deceiv'd in judging; it is most fit such Vows should be either observed or omitted, according to the pleasure of his Superiour, yet so, that if any great or manifest inconvenience should arise from the observation of such a Vow, and there were no opportunity of recurring to the Superior, a Man ought not to keep such a Vow.* Secondly, It is acknowledged even in the Church of *Rome*, that a Vow of Continence made by one married Person without the consent of the other, is null and void, and that because of the danger of Incontinency, to which the other party is thereby exposed. Wherefore (b) *Gregry* I. commanded the Husband of *Agathosa*, who had entred into a Monastery without her consent, to be taken thence, although Professed, and be forced to live with her. But if the danger of another's Damnation produced by a Vow of Contitinence, can dissolve the Obligation of it, certainly much more will the danger of any one's own Damnation produce the same effect. Thirdly, If it be true what (c) *Salas* the Jesuite teacheth, That a Fryar Professed of any approved Order, who shall have a probability of Divine Revelation, that God dispenseth with his Vow to enable him to Marry, may Marry, and make use of this probable, though doubtful Dispensation; certainly he who after Continency Vowed in the taking of Orders, shall find himself assaulted with any grievous temptations of Incontinence, may make use of the same remedy, having more than a probable, even a plain and undoubted Revelation of the Lawfulness of it, in those words, (d) *Nevertheless, to avoid fornication, let every man have his own wife; and it is better to marry than to burn.* So that in many cases it is Lawful, in some Necessary, to break this Vow.

(a) *Quia in his quæ ad seipsum pertinent de facili fallitur homo in judicanda, talia vota congruentius secundum arbitrium superioris sunt vel servanda vel prætermittenda, ita tamen quod si ex observatione talis voti magnum & manifestum gravamen sentiret, & non esset facultas ad superiorem recurrendi, non deberet homo tale votum servare.* Aquin. 2. 2. qu. 88. art. 2. in fin.

(b) *Lib.* 9. *Ep.* 44.

(c) *Lib.* 2. *Tract.* 8. *Disp. unica, sect.* 5. *numb.* 51.

(d) 1 Cor. 7. 2, 9.

Thirdly,

Thirdly, Whether Lawfully or Unlawfully, Neceſſarily or Unneceſſarily violated, if a Marriage be Contracted after a Vow of Continence, it is firm and valid as any other, and cannot be reſcinded. For Marriage is a thing of Natural and Divine Right, whoſe continuance, when once Contracted, is commanded by the Laws of God, and firſt Principles of Reaſon; whereas Vows of Continence are but of human Inſtituion, as we have proved; or at the moſt, but of Evangelical Counſel, as all our Adverſaries confeſs; and therefore muſt in all caſes give place to a matter of Natural Right, and Divine Precept. (a) *Bellarmine* acknowledgeth this, and affirms it to be *the conſtant Opinion of all Catholicks, that a ſimple Vow hinders the Contracting of Marriage, but diſſolveth it not when Contracted*; altho' a ſolemn Vow he would perſwade us doth. But ſince the difference between a Solemn and a Simple Vow, conſiſts meerly in an External Act, in pronouncing outwardly with words, what the Mind inwardly reſolves. This diſtinction is wholly vain: For that External Act addeth nothing Eſſential to the Vow; and although a Solemn Vow only can ſubject any Man to the Cenſures of the Church, and Puniſhment of the State, yet a Simple Vow doth equally oblige in Conſcience; ſo that all the uſe that can be made of ſuch a diſtinction, is this, that ſuch a Contract is not valid in the preſent Canon or Civil-Law, although it be a true Marriage in the Eyes of God, which is ſufficient for our purpoſe, and will make the annulling of it to be unlawful in the Sight of God, although lawful in Human Judicatures. However, the contrary of this, was the only thing which the Council of *Trent* adventured to define in the Cauſe of Celibacy, moſt unhappy in their Choice; for that in all the dependent Queſtions of Vows, Marriage and Celibacy, there is none more apparently falſe, nor any one oppoſed by ſo conſtant and uninterrupted a Tradition from the Apoſtles Times to the Days of *Hildebrand*, when ſuch Marriages were firſt declared to be null and void, if we except two

(a) *Apud Catholicos nunquam dubium fuit, quin votum continentiæ ſimplex ſit impedimentum impediens contrahendum, non tamen dirimens contractum.* De Matrim, cap. 21.

or three obſcure or inconſiderable Councils about the Year D.CCCC. All the Fathers before that time, who treat of this Matter, not one excepted, allow their validity; and even after that time, all the more Famous Divines and Canoniſts till the Council of *Trent*. Some Provincial Councils indeed, after the Year D. ordered thoſe who had Contracted ſuch Marriages, to be ſeparated from each other; but that was not for any invalidity, which they ſuppoſed to be in thoſe Marriages, but in way of Penance, to expiate the guilt of the Violation of their Vows, and the Scandal given to the Church; as may appear from all thoſe Canons which (*b*) *Bellarmine* alledgeth in Defence of the Decree of *Trent*. Sometimes alſo a Separation of ſuch Married Perſons was commanded, or rather permitted, only thereby to enable the Man to be re-admitted into the Miniſtry. As for the Council of (*c*) *Chalcedon*, commanding all who Contract Marriage after a Vow of Continence, to be Excommunicated, produced by *Bellarmine*, who might have added many ſuch like Canons of other Councils. They rather prove the validity of theſe Marriages, becauſe contented to inflict the Puniſhment of Excommunication, they proceed not to a Diſſolution of them; eſpecially ſince the Council of *Chalcedon* in the cloſe of that Canon, leaveth to every Biſhop a Power of Remitting even that Puniſhment. But that Excommunication doth not ſuppoſe the invalidity of theſe Marriages, evidently appears from the Canons of all thoſe many Councils (as *Aurelianenſe* II. Can. 19. *Arvernenſe* Can. 6. *Toletanum* IV. Can. 63. *Nicænum* Can. *Arab.* 53. *Arelatenſe* I. Can. 11.) which Excommunicated thoſe Chriſtians which Married Jews or Gentiles; although none will deny thoſe Marriages to have been perfectly valid, and further ordered the Married Perſons to be ſeparated; which alſo proves, that a Sentence of Separation doth not ſimply imply the invalidity of any Marriage.

(*b*) *Loc. cit.*

(*c*) *Can.* 16.

To manifeſt then the conſtant Tradition of the Church to have been contrary to the Definition of the Council of *Trent*, I might produce a long Bead-roll of Councils, Popes, and

and Emperours, who in the their Canons, Decrees, and Laws, have inflicted upon the Clergy, who Married after a Vow of Continence, no other puniſhment than that of Degradation, and ſome no more than an Incapacity of riſing to higher Dignities in the Church. All theſe by permitting the uſe of ſuch Marriages muſt neceſſarily be ſuppoſed to have owned the validity of them. But becauſe their Authority, however certain, yet is indirect; I will content myſelf with thoſe, who if not *in terminis*, yet at leaſt directly, aſſert the validity of theſe Marriages. I begin then with St. *Paul*, who giveth theſe Inſtructions to *Timothy* concerning the Deaconneſſes of the Church: (*a*) *Let not a widdow be taken into the number under threeſcore years old. But the younger widdows refuſe; for when they have begun to wax wanton againſt Chriſt, they will marry: Having damnation* (in the Greek κρίμα, which is too ſeverely tranſlated) *becauſe they have caſt off their firſt faith; I will therefore that theſe marry.* Theſe Deaconneſſes were Women, choſen out of the Widdows, to attend the Service of the Church; who, maintained with the Revenues of the Church, were with ſome peculiar Ceremonies ſet apart, and as it were Ordained to that Office; whom decency and the Cuſtom of the Church permitted not to Marry again, becauſe thereby they muſt have quitted their Offices, and ſo defeated the end of their ſolemn Dedication to the Church; or as the Apoſtle termeth, *have caſt off their firſt faith.* In taking upon them therefore this Office, they obliged themſelves not to Marry again, and therefore as to a Vow of Continence, were in the ſame condition with the Clergy of the Church of *Rome.* Now at this time in the Church of *Epheſus*, ſome young Widdows had imprudently been choſen into the number of Deaconeſſes, who either not being able or not willing to contain, had ſome of them Married, and others (as the Apoſtle ſeems to imply) had given Scandal by their looſe carriage. The Apoſtle therefore ratifies the Marriages of thoſe who were already Married, and giveth free leave to the reſt to Marry. But for the future, commands that none be admitted into that Order under Threeſcore years

(*a*) 1 Tim. 5. 9, 11, 12, 14.

old, at which age there is no danger of Incontinency. Now that the Apostle treateth here of these Deaconesses, or Widdows who had promised to the Church to observe Continence, appeareth as well from the Context, as from the common Interpretation of the Fathers, many of whom (b) *Bellarmine* reckons up, and embraceth their Opinion.

(b) *De Monab.* l. 2. c. 24.

After the Apostle, succeed the Fathers. St. *Clemens Alex.* the great Defender of Marriage, and most Learned of all the Writers of the Three first Centuries: (a) *Second Marriage, after a Promise of Continence, is unlawful, not in the Contract, but in the breach of Promise.* (b) St. *Cyprian*, speaking of Virgins that had professed Chastity: *But if they will not or cannot persevere, it is better they should Marry, than fall into Incontinency by their faults.* *Epiphanius*, although otherwise a great Bigot of Virginity, speaking of those who after a Solemn Vow of Continence, and undertaking a Monastick Life, find themselves tempted with Lusts, gives them this advice: (c) *It is better to commit one sin* (by violating the Vow) *than many* (by indulging a wandring Lust,) *it is best for him who cannot perform his undertaking, openly to Marry a Wife according to the Law.* St. *Basil*, blaming some Virgins, who after they had solemnly devoted themselves to God, and vowed perpetual Chastity, behaved themselves unseemly, saith, (d) *It were much better for them being married to a Husband, to receive from him directions of life, and recompence the benefits of his government, by assisting him in the care of the Family, and educating a succession of hopeful Children, and so preserve her Chastity, although it were only to avoid the Jealousie of her Husband.* There is extant among St. *Chrysostom*'s Works, two Eloquent

(a) Διγαμία μετὰ ἐπαγγελίαν παράνομον, οὐ διὰ τὴν συνάφειαν, ἀλλ' διὰ τὸ ψεῦδος. *Strom.* lib. 1.

(b) *Si autem perseverare nolunt, vel non possunt, melius est nubiant, quam in ignem delictis suis cadant.* Epist. 62. ad *Pomponium.*

(c) Κρεῖττον ἔχειν ἁμαρτίαν μίαν καὶ μὴ πλειοτέρας, κρεῖττον πεσόντα ἀπὸ δρόμου φανερῶς ἑαυτῷ λαβεῖν γυναῖκα κατὰ νόμον. *Haeres.* 41. *in fine.*

(d) Πολλῷ αἱρετώτερον ἀνδρὶ συναφθεῖσαι τούτῳ πρὸς τὸν βίον ἡνιοχεῖσθαι; τότε χρειώδες εἰς βοήθειαν κατὰ τὸν οἶκον ἀμοιβὴν τῆς προστασίας αὐτῷ ἀντεκτιννῦσαι, &c. lib. *de verâ Virginit.* p. 728.

quent and Paſſionate Treatiſes, written by him whilſt young, to his Friend *Theodorus*, afterwards the Great and Learned Biſhop of *Mopſueſtia*, who in his youth having entred into a Monaſtick Life, had in the twentieth year of his age quitted it for the love of *Hermione*, a fair Virgin, whom he reſolved to Marry. Here *Chryſoſtome* employeth all the ſtrength of his Rhetorick to exaggerate the heinouſneſs of his Sin committed, in violating his Vow made to God; yet no where adventures to declare, that his Marriage would be invalid; gives it the name of Marriage, and not of Adultery; and although he equals the Sin of it to that Crime, and by a Metaphor calls it Adultery; yet he plainly diſtinguiſheth it from formal Adultery, more eſpecially in theſe words; (e) *Marriage you will ſay is lawful; ſo ſay I; Marriage is honourable, ſaith the Apoſtle, and the bed undefiled; but fornicators and adulerers God will judge. But it is not permitted to you to celebrate the Rites* (or rather uſe the lawfulneſs) *of Marriage. For when one is joyned to a heavenly Spouſe, to part with him for a Wife, and joyn himſelf to her, this is Adultery, although you ſhould ten thouſand times call it Marriage; and by ſo much worſe than Adultery, by how much God is greater than Men. Wonder not if Marriage is condemned equally with Adultery, when God is deſpiſed.* Here the Crime indeed is ſufficiently aggravated, but placed wholly, as may be obſerved, not in the uſe of his intended Marriage, but in violating his firſt Faith pledged to Chriſt in his Vow of Continence. Calls his intended Contract, Marriage; grants that when Married, *Hermione* will be his Wife: And in the cloſe of his Paſſage, plainly diſtinguiſheth his Crime from Adultery. Wherefore the *Latine* Tranſlation in *Fronto Ducæus* his Edition, renders it thus; *Wonder not if ſuch a Marriage is compared to Adultery.* The ſame Father in another

(e) Δίκαιος ὁ γάμος, τύμφημι κἀγὼ, τίμιος γὸ φησὶν, ὁ γάμος καὶ ἡ κόιτη ἀμίαντος, πόρνους γὸ καὶ μοιχοὺς κρινεῖ ὁ Θεὸς, σοὶ γὸ ἔκεσι δυνατὸν τὰ δίκαια τῦ γάμυ φυλάξαι, ἢ γὸ ἐπουρανίῳ συναφθέντα νυμφίῳ τῦτον μὲ ἀφεῖναι γυναικὶ δ' ἑαυτὸν συνάψαι, μοιχεία τὸ πρᾶγμα, κἂν μυριάκις αὐτὸ γάμον καλῇς, μᾶλλον γὸ μοιχείας τοσύτῳ δεινότερον ὅσῳ κρείττων ἀνθρώπων Θεός. Καὶ τί θαυμάζεις εἰ γάμος ἄπαρ μοιχεία κρίνεται, ὅταν ἀθετῆται Θεός. *Paræn. 2. ad Theodor. lapſ.* cap. 2.

(a) Πρὸς τούτοις ἐν ἄλλῳ μοναχείων ἐπαίνων. adv. vitup. vit. Monast. l. 3. c. 13.

another place saying, (a) That some Monks in his time quitting their Profession, Contracted Marriage, passeth the same Censure on them; always proceeding upon this ground, That they who make a Vow of Chastity, do thereby as it were joyn themselves in Marriage to Christ, and therefore by a subsequent Marriage become as it were guilty of Adultery. Upon which account also many other Fathers in their Rhetorical Flights, give to these Marriages the Title of Adultery. But if we come to close and strict Reasoning, (b) St. *Augustine* will tell us for them, That as this Marriage with Christ, is not True, but only Spiritual; so neither is this Adultery True and Real, but only Spiritual and Mystical. This Father professedly handles this Question, refutes all the contrary Objections, and having said, that (c) *Such Persons are condemned, not because they afterwards Contracted a Marriage, but because they violated their former Promise of Chastity:* Determines in these words; *No small an evil ariseth from this inconsiderate Opinion of the invalidity of Marriage of holy Virgins which quit their Profession. For hereby Wives are separated from their Husbands, as if they were Adulteresses, not Wives; and they who would by separating of them, reduce them to Continence, make their Husbands become true Adulterers, if while these are alive they marry other Wives.* Wherefore *Gratian* contracteth the sence of St. *Augustine*'s Argument, and truly represents it thus: (d) *Some affirm those who Marry after a Vow, to be Adulterers; but I say they grievously sin, who Separate such Persons.* I might produce many other places of St. *Augustine* to the same purpose, especially where, speaking of Professed Virgins, which although Incontinent

(b) De bono viduit. c. 10.

(c) Damnantur tales, non quia conjugalem fidem posterius inierunt, sed quia continentiæ primam fidem irritam fecerunt ——— Fit autem per hanc minus inconsideratam opinionem, qua putant lapsarum à sancto proposito fœminarum, si nupserint, non esse conjugia, non parvum malum, ut à maritis separentur uxores quasi adulteræ sint, non uxores; & cum volunt eas separatas reddere continentiæ, faciunt maritos earum adulteros veros, cum suis uxoribus vivis alieras duxerint. Ibid.

(d) Quidam nubentes post votum asserunt adulteros esse. Ego autem dico, quod gravitur peccent, qui tales dividunt. Dist. 27. cap. 2.

nent, adventured not to Marry, partly for Shame, and partly for fear of Punishment: He giveth his Opinion thus; (e) *These who long to Marry, and yet do not Marry, because they cannot do it unpunished; it is better they should Marry than Burn, that is, than be scorched with the secret flames of Lust, who repent their Profession, and are grieved at their Promise.* St. *Hierome*, writing to a Consecrated Virgin, who leaving her Mother, lived with an unmarried Clergyman, and was suspected to maintain an unlawful familiarity with him, giveth her this advice, either to return to her Mother or Marry her Lover. *Why are you afraid to return to her?* (a) *If you be still a Virgin, why need you fear a close Confinement? If Debauched, why do you not publickly Marry? That will be the next refuge after Shipwrack, to extenuate at least your Crime by this Remedy.* A Passage so much the more Memorable, because of this Couple, the one was a Clergyman, the other a Nun; and yet St. *Hirome* not only alloweth, but adviseth their Marriage. The Council of *Ancyra*, in the Year, 314. Decreed, that (b) *Those who having vowed Virginity, falsifyed their Promise, should be placed in the rank of Bigamists.* But none will say that Bigamy is unlawful, much less that it is Adultery. I might mention many other Councils, which inflicted only a Temporary Penance on those Marriages. Pope *Leo* I. Decreed, that a (c) *Monk, who forsaking the profession of Continence, either became a Soldier, or Married, should expiate his Fault by Publick Penance; because although Warfare may be Innocent, and Marriage honest, yet it is a Crime to forsake the better Choice. Pelagius*

(e) *Hæ igitur, quæ nubere volunt, & ideo non nubunt, quia impune non possunt, quæ melius nuberent quam urerentur, id est quam occulta flamma concupiscentiæ vastarentur, quas pænitet professionis, & piget confessionis.* l. de sanct. virginit. c. 24.

(a) *Si virgo es, quid times diligentem custodiam? Si corrupta, cur non palam nubis? Secunda post, naufragium tabula est, quod male cæperis, saltem hoc remedio temperare.* Epist. 47. *de vitando suspecto contubernio.*

(b) Ὅσοι παρθενίαν ἐπαγγελλόμενοι, ἀθετοῦσι τὴν ἐπαγγελίαν, τὴν τῶν διγάμων ὅρον ἐκπληρούτωσαν. *Can.* 19.

(c) *Unde qui (ex Monachis) relicta singularitatis professione, ad militiam, vel ad nuptias devolutus est, publicæ pænitentæ satisfactione purgandus est; quia etsi innocens militia, & honestum potest esse conjugium, electionem tamen meliorum deseruisse transgressio est.* Epist. 92. *ad Rusticum Narbon.* cap. 12.

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the Heretick, who in the matter of Vows and Marriage, was as Orthodox as any, in his Epistle to *Demetrias* the Virgin, falsly ascribed both to St. *Hierome*, and St. *Augustine*, saith, (*d*) *Let the Consecrated Virgins either Marry if they cannot contain, or contain, if they will not Marry.* Pope *Gelasius*, in the end of the Fifth Century, defineth thus: (*e*) *If any Widows shall through Inconstancy, violate their profession of Chastity willingly undertook; it concerns them to take care with what satisfaction they may appease God. For as if they could not perhaps contain, they were not at all forbidden to Marry; so when they have once deliberately promised Chastity to God, they ought to have kept it, yet ought not we to lay a Snare* (or impose a Necessity) *upon any such: But proposing to them the merits of Continence, and danger of breaking of a Vow, leave the matter to their own Conscience.* In the Seventh Age, *Theodorus* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, in his Penitential, which was the Canon Law of the Church of *England* for some Ages, ordered, that (*f*) *If any Man having a simple Vow of Virginity, married a Wife; he should not put away his Wife, but only do Penance.* In which words, lest *Bellarmine*'s distinction of a Simple and Solemn Vow should be thought to take place, it may be observed, that *Naldus*, in his Annotations upon *Gratian*, confesseth the word *Simplex* is wanting in all the Manuscript Copies. In the end of the Eleventh Age, even after the Decrees of *Hildebrand* were published, (*g*) *Ivo* Bishop of *Chartres*, the greatest Canonist of his Age, relates how a Canon of the Church of *Paris* Contracted Marriage; and maintains, that that Marriage neither can, nor ought to be dissolved. In the next Age, *Gratian* the Compiler of the Canon Law (confirmed by *Eugenius* III. and at this day in use in the Church of *Rome*) is expres

(*d*) *Aut nubant si se non possunt continere, aut contineant si nolunt nubere, inter Opp. Heronymi & Aug.*

(*e*) *Si quæ (viduæ) propria voluntate professam castitatem mutabili mente calcaverint, periculi earum intercerit, quali Deum debeant satisfactione placare. Sicut enim si se forsitan continere non poterant, nullatenus nubere vetabantur, sic habita secum deliberatione promissam Deo judiciisque fidem debuerunt custodire. Nos autem talibus nullum laqueum debemus injicere, sed solum, &c.* Epist. ad Lucania Epitc. cap. 21.

(*f*) *Si vir simplex votum virginitatis habens adjungitur uxori, non dimittat uxorem, sed tribus annis pœniteat. apud Gratian.* Dist. 27. c. 3.

(*g*) Epist. 218.

expreſs for the validity of theſe Marriages. (a) *If a Deacon* (ſaith he) *will lay down his Office, he may lawfully uſe Marriage when once Contracted. For although he made a Vow of Chaſtity at his Ordination, yet ſo great is the force of the Sacrament of Marriage, that not even by the violaion of the Vow, can the Marriage be diſſolved.* In the Thirteenth Age, *Innocent* III. and the whole (b) *Lateran* Conncil, acknowledged the Marriage of Prieſts, in ſome Weſtern Provinces, to be firm and valid, and the Uſe of it to be lawful. In the Fifteenth Age, (c) *Æneas Sylvius*, afterwards Pope, by the Name of *Pius* II. and the moſt Learned of all that have ſat in St. *Peter*'s Chair for theſe laſt Thouſand years, being, when Cardinal of *Siena*, deſired by a Prieſt of his Acquaintance, who found he could no longer contain, to obtain for him a Diſpenſation from the Pope to Marry; returned him Anſwer, That the Pope refuſed it, and at the ſame time gave him this advice. (d) *I acknowledge you do not act imprudently, if when you cannot contain, you ſeek to Marry; although that ought to have been conſidered, before you entred into Holy Orders. But we are not all Gods, to foreſee future Neceſſities. Seeing the caſe is ſo, that you cannot any longer reſiſt the law of the fleſh, it is better to Marry than to Burn.* Thus we have proved, that the Doctrine of the Invalidity of Marriages Contracted after a Vow of Continence, was unknown in the firſt Ages of Chriſtianity, oppoſed in the laſt, and not univerſally received in the Church of *Rome*, until defined with an *Anathema* by the Council of *Trent*; which thereby left the Controverſie in a worſe condition than they found it.

(a) *Si vero Diaconus à miniſterio ceſſare voluerit, contracto matrimonio licite poteſt uti. Nam etſi in ordinatione ſua caſtitatis votum obtulerit; tamen tanta eſt vis in Sacramento conjugii, quod nec violatione voti poteſt diſſolvi ipſum conjugium.* Dist. 27. cap. 1.

(b) *Can.* 14. *Concil. Tom. XI. p.* 168.

(c) *Epiſt.* 307.

(d) *Credimus te uti non inſulſo conſilio, ſi quum nequeas continere, conjugium quæris, quamvis id prius cogitandum fuerat, antequam initiareris ſacris ordinibus. Sed non ſumus dii omnes qui futura proſpicere volemus. Quando huc ventum eſt, ut legi carnis reſiſtere nequeas, melius eſt nubere quam uri.* Ibid.

Having thus diſpatched the Controverſial, I paſs to the Hiſtorical part of my Deſign; and therein will evince, that the Celibacy of the Clergy was looked upon as a thing Indifferent in the Two firſt Centuries, Propoſed in the Third, Magnified in the Fourth, and in ſome Places Impoſed in the Fifth, yet ſo, as that even that Impoſition did infinitely differ from the preſent Doctrine and Diſcipline of the Church of *Rome*; that however Commanded in ſome Provinces of the *Weſt*, it was no where univerſally Practiſed; that in a few Ages this Impoſition became obſolete; this Yoke intolerable, and Marriage univerſally prevailed, till condemned and forbidden by the Popes of the Eleventh Age; that even their Decrees and Canons became ineffectual by an univerſal Oppoſition of the whole Church; and the lawfulneſs of Marriage in the Clergy was aftewards allowed and permitted by many Popes, and one General Council of the *Roman* Church; that all this while Celibacy never was impoſed or practiſed in the *Eaſtern* Church from the Apoſtles time; but the Impoſition of it was rejected by one, and condemned by another Council of the Univerſal Church; and obtained not even in the *Weſt*, till the Ambition and Uſurpation of the Popes drawing to themſelves the Diſpoſition of all greater Eccleſiaſtical Preferments, Poverty became neceſſary to the Married Clergy; which cauſed Marriage to be wholly laid aſide by them about Two Hundred years before the Reformation. The Proof of theſe things ſhall be the Subject of the remaining part of my Diſcourſe. But firſt I ſhall premiſe theſe few Conſiderations.

I. Although the Ancient Church ſhould have impoſed, or univerſally practiſed Celibacy, yet the Obligation of that Law, and Authority of that Example, would be no reaſonable, much leſs neceſſary Motive to the preſent Church to continue the Impoſition; ſince the Reaſons which might have induced the Antients to enjoyn or uſe it, are long ſince ceaſed. Thoſe Reaſons were to make

make the Clergy more ready and willing to renounce the Pleaſures of the World, and ſuffer Martyrdom in Times of Perſecution, and by their brave Example incite the Laity to the ſame generous Conſtancy of Mind. In the flouriſhing and peaceable Times of the Churches, there could be no other reaſon of enjoyning it, than to procure an extraordinary Veneration to the Clergy, by their Abſtinence from permitted Pleaſures, and thereby facilitate and promote the common Edificacion of the Church. As for the Reaſons of ſome Admirers of Celibacy, who were led aſide with falſe Prejudices, and pre-conceived Errours; they vaniſh together with the detection of their falſity, and do no longer oblige than thoſe Errours are maintained. But as for the other more ſolid Reaſons, Providence has annulled the firſt, by giving reſt unto the Church; and an univerſal decay of Piety, as well in Clergy as Laity, hath defeated the ſecond: Since what perhaps was before Exemplary, is now become a Scandal to the whole Chriſtian World. This *Caſſander* ingenuouſly confeſſeth in theſe words; (a) *For thoſe Reaſons wherewith the Antients were induced to make this Conſtitution, are not only now ceaſed, but are even become oppoſite. For firſt, we ſee that by this Decree Chaſtity and Continence is ſo far from being promoted in the Clergy, that thereby a door is rather opened to all kind of Luſt and Villany: and Coveteouſneſs in the Clergy ſo far from being reſtrained by it, that it ſeems hence to have received no ſmall encreaſe.*

(a) *Nam cauſæ illæ, quibus Majores ad conſtitutionem hanc faciendam inductos eſſe diximus, non ſolum hodie ceſſarunt, ſed etiam in contrarium ſunt converſæ. Nam primo videmus hoc decreto uſque adeo caſtitatem & continentiam in clero non confirmari, ut per illud ad omne libidinis & flagitii genus feneſtra aperta eſſe videatur: item uſque adeo non refrænatam in Clero avaritiam, ut etiam fræna magis laxata eſſe videantur.* Conſult. Art. 23.

II. To Confute our Adverſaries pretence of Antiquity, and eſtabliſh my Deſign, it is ſufficient to produce the Authority of ſome Fathers, who thought the Impoſition of Celibacy unlawful or inconvenient to the Church; to alledge the Teſtimony of ſome Hiſtorians, aſſuring us that Marriage was in their Time uſed indifferently by the Clergy; and propoſe the Examples of ſome

Married Clergy: Although some Fathers and Writers were of a contrary Opinion, or the greater part of the Clergy perhaps practised Celibacy. For this will undeniably prove, that both Marriage and Celibacy were left indifferent to all; that neither was a Point of Faith, an Institution of Christ or his Apostles. or a matter of Universal Practice. Whereas our Adversaries pretending herein to an uninterrupted Tradition, and constant Practice of the whole Church in all Ages, must to that end produce a perfect consent of all Doctors, Historians and Writers; and an universal Practice of all Times. If any one Writer occur, not condemned; or any one Example not censured by the Church; the Plea of Tradition must fall. Some indeed of the *Roman* Church, as *Erasmus* and *Cassander*, pretended not to so Universal a Tradition and Practice; but then they were so far from Defending the present Constitutions of the Church of *Rome*, by the Authority of the Antients, that they were open Enemies to the Imposition of Celibacy. However, the Dissent of ancient Doctors and Councils, and the diverse Practices of private Clergymen, will manifestly demonstrate, that Celibacy was neither universally imposed nor practised in the Ancient Church, as it is at this day in the Church of *Rome*; but that, as well as Marriage, left indifferent both to Clergy and Laity, if not in some particular Provinces, yet at least in the Universal Church.

III. The numbers of the Married Clergy in the Ancient Church, ought not to be estimated only from the accounts of them which we find in Ecclesiastical History of Monuments of Antiquity. For the Relation of Wives or Children, add neither Ornament nor Use to History, nor have any part in it, unless upon extraordinary occasions, which rarely happen. It concerns not Posterity to know, whether *Aristotle* or *Plato* were Married; since neither Marriage nor Celibacy will inhaunce their Vertue, or diminish their Worth. And if mention of Wives be rarely found in Civil, much less will it in Ecclesiastical

ſiaſtical Hiſtory. For Women ſometimes bear a ſhare in Civil Matters; but in publick Acts of Religion, and Affairs of the Church, it is even unlawful for them to intermeddle. So that if but a few Examples of Marriage in the Clergy of the Ancient Church can be produced; we may thence reaſonably conclude, that the Married Clergy were then very numerous.

IV. The Reader may obſerve, that almoſt all thoſe places, which we ſhall produce out of the Ancient Doctors for the lawfulneſs of Marriage in the Clergy, and againſt the Impoſition of it, are taken either from their dogmatical Treatiſes, which were written deliberately, and in a ſedate temper of Mind; or from their Harangues of Virginity, where the very force of Truth extorted from them thoſe Confeſſions. Whereas the Teſtimonies made uſe of by our Adverſaries, for the Neceſſity or Convenience of Celibacy in the Clergy, are for the moſt part drawn either from theſe Encomiaſtick Diſcourſes of Virginity, where they employed all the force of their Eloquence to magnifie the Merits of that State, and recommend it to the World; or from their Polemick Writings againſt the Adverſaries of Celibacy, wherein they were more intent to Deſtroy Errour, than Eſtabliſh Truth. And no wonder, if in both theſe Occaſions, corrupted with Prejudice, or tranſported with Paſſion, they bent the Bow to much, and receded from that Exactneſs of Truth, which is ſeated in the middle way.

To theſe Obſervations, I may add the Confeſſion of many Great Men in the Church of *Rome*; who allow Celibacy, neither to have been impoſed, nor univerſally practiſed in the Antient Church. To paſs by then *Caſſander*, *Eraſmus*, and the more moderate Divines of that Church, I will produce only *Gratian* and *Mendoſa*; the laſt (*a*) of which acknowledgeth that Marriage was always allowed to the Clergy, and every where thought indifferent, till forbidden by the Council of *Illiberis* in the Fourth

(*a*) *De conſirm. Conc Illiber. l. 2. c. 66.*

Fourth Age: the first goeth further in these words: (b) *From this Authority* (an Epistle of Pope *Pelagius* in the Sixth Age) *it appeareth, that the Clergy of the aforementioned Order, Priests, Deacons, and Sub-deacons, might then lawfully use Marriage.* And *in the time of the Council of* Ancyra (in the Fourth Age) *the Continence of the Ministers of the Altar was not yet introduced.* Although perhaps by this last Passage only Deacons and Subdeacons are understood. However, in another place he speaks more generally: (c) *When therefore we read that the Sons of the Clergy are promoted to be Popes or Bishops; they are not to be thought to have been born of Fornication, but of lawful Marriage, which was every where permitted to the Clergy before the prohibition, and is to this day permitted to them in the Eastern Church.*

(b) *Sive ergo Presbyter, sive Diaconus, sive Subd. fuerit, Ex hac authoritate appareret, quod in præfatis ordinibus constituti licite matrimonio uti possunt.----- Tempore Ancyranæ Synodi nondum erat introducta continentia ministrorum altaris.* Dist. 28. cap. 13.

(c) *Cum ergo ex sacerdotibus nati in summos pontifices supra leguntur esse promoti; non sunt intelligendi de fornicatione, sed ex legitimis conjugiis nati; quæ sacerdotibus ante prohibitionem ubique licita erant, & in Orientali Ecclesia usque hodie eis licere probatur.* Dist. 56. cap. 13.

Having premised these few preliminary Observations, I proceed to Matter of Fact; and begin with the Apostles: than whom none better knew the intention of their Master, or the convenience of the Church, and were the best Pattern of the Clergy for all future Ages. St. *Basil* seems to have believed that all the Apostles were married, where speaking of the excellency of of Marriage (d) he brings in the Example of *Peter and the rest of the Apostles.* The Interpolater of *Ignatius* his Epistles (who lived in the beginning of the Sixth Age) in like manner produceth the Examples of Peter, Paul, *and* (e) *the other Apostles*, or as the Latin Translator (antienter than *Ado Viennensis*, who flourished in the year 875.) renders it, (f) *the rest of the Apostles.* The Author of the Commentary upon the Epistles

(d) Ὅτε πίστος ἦν καὶ οἱ λοιποὶ τῶν Ἀποστόλων. *Serm. de abdicat. rerum post init.*

(e) Καὶ τῶν ἄλλων Ἀποστόλων. *Epist. ad Philadelph.*

(f) *Reliqui Apostoli.* Ibid.

Epiſtles of St. *Paul* in St. *Ambroſe*'s Works (who was *Hilary* a Deacon of *Rome*) excepts (*g*) St. *Paul* and St. *John*, and affirms *all the reſt to have been married.*

(*g*) *Omnes Apoſtoli, exceptis Joanne & Paulo, uxores habuerunt. Comm. in Epiſt. ad Cor.* cap. 11.

That St. *Peter* was married we are aſſured by the Authority of the Holy Scripture: (*h*) That he had a Daughter by her the antient Book of his Περίοδοι or Travels, (*i*) writ before the times of *Origen*, manifeſt; to whom the latter Legendary Writers give the name of *Petronilla*. *St.* Peter *is known to have had a Wife; and the begetting of Children hindred him not from obtaining precedency among the Apoſtles,* ſaith the abovementioned (*k*) *Hilary* in his Queſtions upon both Teſtaments, falſly aſcribed to St. *Auſtin*: For that he was the Author of them is abundantly demonſtrated by the learned *Garnerius*, (*l*) That he led about his Wife with him in his Travels and Preaching. St. *Paul* plainly intimates in theſe words: (*m*) *Have we not power to lead about a ſiſter, a wife,* ἀδελφὴν γυναῖκα, *as well as other Apoſtles* (or rather, *as the reſt of the Apoſtles,* ὡς καὶ οἱ λοιποὶ Ἀπόστολοι) *and as the brethren of the Lord, and Cephas?* Our Adverſaries indeed pretend, that by ἀδελφὴν γυναῖκα in this place is to be underſtood not a Wife, but an aſſiſtant Woman, commonly of the richer and more aged ſort, carried about by the Apoſtles to miniſter to their neceſſities, provide them maintenance, and ſerve them in the quality of Deaconeſſes: And thus it muſt be acknowledged the greateſt part of the Antients did interpret it. However, I will oppoſe to that Opinion ſome conſiderable, and perhaps convictive Arguments. As firſt, the ordinary acception of the word γυνὴ both in the Septuagint and the New Teſtament, where the name Wife is never deſigned by any other word. Secondly, this Interpretation

(*h*) Matth. 8. 14.

(*i*) *Quamquam legatur in* Περιόδοις *& uxor ejus* (Petri) *& filia. apud* Hieron. *adv.* Jovin. lib. 1.

(*k*) *S.* Petrus *uxorem habuiſſe cognoſcitur, & primatum ut acciperet inter Apoſtolos, non ei obſtitit generatio filiorum, inter* Auguſt. Opp. Tom. IV. *prope fin.*

(*l*) *Appendix ad* par. 1. Opp. Marii Merc. Differt. 1. cap. 8.

(*m*) Cor. 9. 5.

was

was by the Antients received from *Tertullian*, who first proposed it in his Book of *Monogamy*, which he writ after he was become a Montanist. Thirdly, the contrary Opinion of all the Catholicks in *Tertullian*'s time, For in his Exhortations to Chastity, writ likewise after his fall, decrying the excellency of Marriage, he introduceth the Catholicks thus objecting to him, (*n*) *It was lawful even for the Apostles to marry, and to lead about their wives with them.* And indeed *Clemens Alexandrinus*, the most Learned and Orthodox of all the Writers of the three first Centuries; expresly interprets (*o*) this place of Wives; and further adds, That St. *Peter* had several Children by his Wife. Not to mention Cardinal *Humbert* in latter Ages, who, (*p*) although a bitter Enemy of Priests Marriage, allows and followeth this Interpretation. That is more considerable, which *Eusebius* (*q*) relates from the same *Clemens*, that St. *Peter* saw his Wife suffer Martyrdom, and standing by her exhorted her generously to undergo it; which alone might demonstrate, that she accompanied him in all his Travels: Since, excepting St. *Stephen*, and St. *James* the Great, none suffered Death for the Christian Faith, till the latter end of *Nero*'s Reign, when St. *Peter* was wholly employed in the West.

(*n*) *Licebat & Apostolis uubere, & uxores circumducere*, cap. 8.

(*o*) Strom. l. 3.

(*p*) *Respons. ad Nicet. Pectorat. apud* Baron. Annal. Tom. XI. p. 720.

(*q*) Lib. 3. cap. 30.

The Marrirge of St. *Paul*, however, commonly denied by the Antients, and universally by the Moderns, is attested by great Authorities. *Clemens Alexandrinus*, the Disciple of *Pantænus*, who (by the Testimony of *Photius*) (*r*) had those for his Masters, who had seen and conversed with the Apostles, and who himself writ within 125 years after the death of St. *Paul*, and had travelled into *Palæstine*; expresly affirms (*s*) it. From him *Eusebius* (*t*) receiving this Tradition, transcribeth and approveth it. These two Authorities are sufficient alone to create a probability. However, I will observe that many still retained the same Opinion in the end of the Fourth Age. So St. *Hierom* (*u*) assureth us some believed in his time.

(*r*) Cod 118.

(*s*) Strom. l. 3.

(*t*) Hist. Eccl. l. 3. c. 30.

(*u*) *Epist. de custod. virgin. ad Eustochium.*

time. St. *Chrysostom* (*a*) acknowledgeth the same thing, and adds that many in his time maintained, St. *Paul* directed those words to his Wife (*Philipp.* 4.3.) *I intreat thee also, true yoke-fellow,* σύζυγε γνήσιε. For those words in the Attick dialect, the most elegant of the Greek Tongue, may be translated, *my faithful Wife.* Nay, in the Sixth Age the Interpolator of *Ignatius*'s Epistles hath these words: (*b*) *In praising Virginity, I do not blame all other holy Men, because they used Marriage. For I desire only to be thought worthy of God to be placed at their feet in the kingdom of heaven; as of* Abraham, Isaac, Jacob, Joseph, *and the other Prophets, as of* Peter *and* Paul, *and the other Apostles, who used Marriage.* This place the Ancient Latin Interpreter, who lived about the Eighth Age, hath retained and translated with advantage: It is a foolish, as well as impudent Pretence, which the Writers of the Church of *Rome* alledge to defeat the Authority of this Testimony: They maintain that the name of St. *Paul* was foisted in by the fraud of some latter Greeks, at least Reformed Printers: and therefore the *Index Expurgatorius* commands his name to be wiped out of all Editions, yet have they no other Foundation for this confident Calumny, than the Authority of two Manuscript Copies, which they pretend to be very antient, the one of *Matthias Corvinus*, King of *Hungary*; the other of *Magdalen* Colledge in *Oxford*, taken up upon the Credit of an Irish Fugitive. Whereas the first was never seen since the days of *Ambrosius Camaldulensis*, who lived 250. years since; the other Bishop *Usher* (*c*) saw, and found to be no older than the year 1490. That the Reformed Printers corrupted not this place, appears from all the Editions before the Reformation, particularly those of *Fabor Stapulensis Paris* 1498. *Strasbourg* 1502. and *Jod. Clichtovaus Paris* 1515. and many Editions set forth

(*a*) Hom. 13. in Philipp.

(*b*) Ὀυ ψέγων τοὺ λοιποὺς μακαρίους, ὅτι γάμοις προσιμίλησε εὔχομαι γὰρ ἄξιος Θεοῦ εὑρεθεὶς πρὸς τοῖς ἴχνεσιν αὐτῶν εὑρεθῆναι ἐν τῇ Βασιλείᾳ, ὡς Ἀβραὰμ καὶ Ἰσαὰκ καὶ Ἰακὼβ καὶ Ἰοσὴφ καὶ Ἰσαΐου καὶ τῶν ἄλλων Προφητῶν, ὡς Πέτρου καὶ Παύλου καὶ τῶν ἄλλων Ἀποστόλων τοῖς γάμοις προσομιλησάντων. *Epist. ad Philadelph.*

(*c*) *Not. in Ignat. Epist.* cap. 17.

forth by Papists since the Reformation; wherein the name of St. *Paul* is found. The Greeks are no less cleared from all fraud herein by the consent of the Latin Copies, particularly of one 800. years old in *Baliol* Colledge in *Oxford*, mentioned by Dr. *James*, (*a*) wherein although some zealous Romanist had blotted out the name of St. *Paul*, and the other Apostles, yet they had done it so slightly, that the words were still easily legible.

(*a*) *Corrupt. of the Fathers, par.* 2. *p.* 57.

Now whether St. *Peter* led about his Wife with him, or St. *Paul* was married, is not of so great moment to our case, as is the Conclusion, which may be evidently drawn from the belief, entertained by some of the Antients, both of the one and of the other. For even if we should grant their Opinion to have been erroneous; yet it manifestly demonstrates, that in their time, the Celibacy of the Clergy was neither believed to have been instituted by the Apostles, nor universally practised by the preceding Ages, nor the use of Marriage inconvenient, much less incompatible to the Priesthood. Had any of these Opinions been generally received in their time; it is impossible they should have been so stupid, as to believe the Apostles had done a thing contrary to their own Institution, or the laudable practise of succeeding Ages, or the Dignity of their Office.

Of the other Apostles, St. *Philip* had Three Daughters, whom by the Testimony of (*c*) *Clemens Alex.* he Married to so many Husbands. Of the Four Virgin Daughters of *Philip* the Deacon, we read in the (*d*) *Acts* of the *Apostles*. The Marriage of *Nicholas* the Deacon, is Famous in Ecclesiastical History; which because the Mis-representation of it gave occasion to many Errours, and the Imposers of Celibacy in the Eleventh Age, constantly traduced the Marriage of Priests with the Title of *Nicolaite*, Heresie, it will not be amiss here to rectifie. *Clemens Alex.* the most Ancient of

(*c*) Φίλιππος ἢ γὰρ τὰς θυγατέρας ἀνδράσιν ἐξέδωκεν. *Strom.* l. 3.

(*d*) Act. 21. 9.

of all who mention it (for (e) St. *Irenæus* ſaith only, That the *Nicolaites* came from *Nicolas* the Deacon) relateth it it thus: (f) *Nicolas* having a very beautiful Wife, became unreaſonably Jealous of her: for which being rebuked by the Apoſtles, that he might purge himſelf of all Suſpicion of Jealouſie, he brought his Wife into the midſt of the Company, and giving up his Right to her, gave free leave to any one to marry her; not that he intended any ſuch thing, but only to ſhew by that Bravado, how far he was from Jealouſie. This indeed was a raſh and imprudent Act, which gave neither Example nor juſt Occaſion to thoſe execrable things which afterwards the *Nicolaites* practiſed, and ſome credulous Perſons believed to have been committed by *Nicolas*; whom (a) *Clemens* affirms to have been truly Chaſte, and have uſed the company of none but his own Wife; by whom he had one Son, and ſeveral Daughters, all Perſons of Exemplary Vertue and Modeſty. (b) *Euſebius*, (c) St. *Auguſtine*, and (d) *Theodoret*, relate the Story the ſame way. Only (e) *Epiphanius* relates in a different manner; That *Nicolas* having vowed perpetual Abſtinence from his Wife, was allured by the Charms of her Beauty to return to her Embraces, and violate his Vow; and afterwards not only became unreaſonably Jealous, but fell into all kind of Uncleanneſs, and founded the Hereſie of the *Nicolaites*. This Relation *Epiphanius* ſeems to have received from the impure *Gnoſticks*, with whom he converſed in his Youth; and as he was a Perſon infinitely credulous, and of weak judgment, blindly to have followed it. However, his Authority in a matter of this nature, is of no moment, when oppoſed to *Clemens* and *Euſebius*, judicious and more ancient Writers.

(e) Lib. 1. cap. 27.
(f) Strom. l. 3.
(a) Loc. cit.
(b) Hiſt. Eccl. l. 3. c. 29.
(c) De Hæreſ. cap. 5.
(d) Hæret. Fab. l. 3. c. 1.
(e) Hæreſ. 25. in init.

From the Apoſtolick Times, I proceed to the Doctrine and Practice of ſucceeding Ages, till the Council of *Nice*. Of the two firſt Ages, few Monuments of the Church are now extant; and in them not the leaſt foot-ſtep of Celibacy impoſed or generally uſed by the Clergy, to be

found. Rather *Clemens Alex.* assures us, that (*f*) *Every Christian* in his time, *might as himself pleased, either chose or omit Marriage.* That *all, none excepted, had power to make use of that Marriage which the Gospel permitted them, first Marriage*; where he plainly speaks of the Clergy: for second Marriage was never forbidden to the Laity. But the following words are more remarkable: *The Apostle very well approveth the Husband of one Wife, although he be a Priest, or a Deacon, or a Lay-man, if he useth his Marriage unblameably: for he shall be saved by Procreation of Children. And what will the Condemners of Marriage say to these Precepts, since the Apostle commandeth him to preside over the Church in quality of Bishop, who governeth his own House well, and the Marriage of one Wife representeth the Church of Christ.* Indeed, about the Year 170. *Pinytus*, Bishop of *Gnossus*, in *Creete*, had, under pretence of a greater Perfection and Purity, endeavoured to impose Celibacy upon his Clergy: Which when *Dionysius* the Famous Bishop of *Corinth* heard, he writ an Epistle to him, representing the injustice of his attempt, and persuading him, (*a*) *not to impose so heavy a burthen, as Necessity of Continence, upon the Brethren; but to have regard to the infirmity of many.* That by the Brethren in this place, only the Clergy are meant, appears evidently from the Character which *Eusebius* gives of *Pinytus*, That he was a Pious and Orthodox Person: Whereas had he imposed Celibacy upon all the Faithful, he had been guilty of a gross and most erroneous Heresie. To this I might add the Confession of the most Learned

(*f*) Κύριος ἕκαστος ἡμῶν τυγχάνει τῆς περὶ τέκνων γονῆς αἱρέσεως. *Strom.* l. 3. Ἀλλ' ὁ καθ' ἕκαστον ἡμῶν ἢν ἂν βούληται κατὰ τὸν νόμον γάμεῖν, τὸν πρῶτον λέγω γάμον, ἔχει ἐξουσίαν. *Ibid.* Ναὶ μὴν καὶ τὸν τῆς μιᾶς γυναικὸς ἄνδρα πάνυ ἀποδέχεται (Apostolus) κἂν πρεσβύτερος ᾖ, κἂν διάκονος, κἂν λαικὸς ἀνεπιλήπτως γάμῳ χρώμενος, σωθήσεταί δὲ διὰ τῆς τεκνογονίας. *Ibid.* Τί πρὸς τάντας εἰπεῖν ἔχουσι νομοθεσίας οἱ τὸν πορὰν καὶ τὸν γένεσιν μυσαττέμενοι, ἐπεὶ καὶ τὸν Ἐπίσκοπον τοῦ οἴκου καλῶς προϊστάμενον νομοθετεῖ τῆς ἐκκλησίας ἀφηγεῖσθαι, οἶκόν δὲ κυριακὸν μιᾶς γυναικὸς συνίστησιν συζυγία *Ibid.*

(*a*) Μὴ βαρὺ φορτίον ἐπάναγκες τὸ περὶ ἁγνείας τοῖς ἀδελφοῖς ἐπιτιθέναι, τῆς δὲ τῶν πολλῶν ἐπιστοχάζεσθαι ἀθενείας. *Eusebius Hist. Eccl.* lib. 4. cap. 23.

Learned (*b*) *Mendoza*, and many others, if ſo clear a Matter wanted any further Illuſtration. That *Pinytus* yielded to the Admonition of *Dionyſius*, and quitted his attempt, we are aſſured by (*c*) *Ruffinus*, who ſaith, That *Pinytus writing back to him, embraced the Opinion of his better counſel.* In the Third Age, *Origen* plainly inſinuates, That Firſt Marriage was in his Time indifferently permitted to the Clergy; (*d*) *Not only Fornication* (ſaith he) *but alſo* (Second) *Marriage, excludeth from Eccleſiaſtical Dignities. For neither a Biſhop, nor Prieſt, nor Deacon, nor Deaconeſs, can be Digamiſts.* Himſelf indeed was agreat Admirer of Celibacy; but that we ſhall ſpeak to hereafter.

(*b*) *De confirm. Concil. Illib.* l. 2. c. 66.

(*c*) *Reſcribent, ſententiam quidem conſilii melioris, amplectitur.* Hiſt. Eccl. lib. 4. cap. 23.

(*d*) *Sicut ab Eccleſiaſticis dignitatibus, non ſolum fornicatio, ſed & nuptiæ repelunt. Neque enim Epiſcopus, nec Presbiter, nec Diaconus, nec vidua poſſunt eſſe Digami.* Hom. 17. in Luc. *prope fine.*

Of the Practice of the Church in theſe Three firſt Ages, not a few Examples may be produced. For, to paſs by the Apoſtles and Deacons already mentioned, (*e*) St. *Polycarp* profeſſeth himſelf to be very ſorry for *Valens Preſbyter*, of *Philippi*, and his Wife. That *Tertullian Preſbyter*, of *Carthage*, was married, all ackowledge; that he abſtained from his Wife, after his entrance into Holy Orders, is a meer Fiction of the Papiſts; which however contemned by ſome Reformed Divines, may be refuted by *Tertullian*'s own words. For in his Two Books directed to her, to perſwade her to continue a Widow after his death; or if through the infirmity of the Fleſh we cannot do that, yet at leaſt to marry none but a Chriſtian, he hath theſe words: (*f*) *Why ſhould we not love the Perfection of Continence, as much as we are able? As ſoon as it offers itſelf, let us embrace it, that what we are not now able to do whileſt Married, we may perform in Widowhood. That occaſion ought to be laid hold of, which depriveth us of thoſe Pleaſures, that Neceſſity before*

(*e*) *Epiſt ad Philipp. prope fine.*

(*f*) *Quare facultatem continentiæ, quantum poſſumus, non deligamus? Quum primum obvenerit, imbibamus; ut quod in matrimonio non valemus, in viduitate ſectemur. Amplectenda occaſio eſt quæ, admit, quod neceſſitas imperabit.* Ad Uxor. l. 1. *prope fin.* edit. Baſil. 1528. per B. Rhenanum.

before commanded. A little before *Tertullian*'s time, (g) *Irenæus* relates how *Marcus* the *Hæresiarch* being entertained by a Catholick Deacon in *Asia*, who had a handsom Wife, debauched her both in Body and Mind, and ran away with her. In the *Decian* Persecution, *Charemon*, Bishop of *Nile*, in *Egypt*, fled into the Mountains of *Arabia*, (a) together with the Companion of his life, or as *Valesius* truly translates it, (b) With his Wife. Among the Articles of Misdemeanour, whereof (c) St. *Cyprian* accuseth *Novatus Presbyter*, of *Carthage*, and Author of the *Novatian* Schism in *Africk*, one is, that he kick'd his Wife great with Child, and caused her to Miscarry. That St. *Cyprian* himself was married, and lived with his Wife after the the receiving of Holy Orders, we may learn from (d) *Pontius* his Deacon, who speaking of his eminent Vertues, and extraordinary Piety, whilst yet Presbyter, saith, That *neither Want nor Sorrow could discourage him; neither the Persuasions of his Wife, nor the Sufferings of his own Body, could divert him from neglecting the care of his estate, to attend the Exercises of his Religion.* *Cæcilius*, Presbyter of *Carthage*, who had converted St. *Cyprian* to the Christian Faith, at his death, (e) recommended his Wife and Children to his Care and Protection. (f) *Caldonius*, in an Epistle to St. *Cyprian*, reckons *Felix*, a Presbyter, and *Victoria* his Wife, among the Confessors of *Africa*. In the *Diocletian* Persecution, *Phileas*, the most Holy Bishop of *Thmuis*, in *Egypt*, and *Philoromus*, being brought (g) before the Heathen Judge, to receive Sentence of Martyrdom, were desired by him to take Pity, if not of themselves, yet at least of their Wives and Children, and prevent the Ruin of their Families, by sacrificing to Idols; although those brave Martyrs slighted his Admonitions, and scorned such ignoble Considerations.

(g) *Adv. Hæres.* l. 1. c. 5.

(a) Μετὰ τῆς συμβίου αὐτοῦ. *Euseb.* lib. 6. cap. 42.

(b) *Cum conjuge fugiens.*

(c) *Epist.* 49. *ad Cornelium.*

(d) *In vit. Cypriani. post init.*

(e) *Id Ibid.*

(f) *Inter Cypriani* Epist. num. 18.

(g) *Euseb.* l. 8. c. 9.

However, Celibacy and the Merits of Virginity, began to be highly extolled, and gained great Reputation in the Third Age. Many Causes concurred to advance this Reputation, as the Convenience of the Church at that time, the Mistakes of Catholick, and Artifices of Hereticks.

ticks, I ſhall begin with the laſt, and obſerve, that in all the numerous train of Hereſies, from the Apoſtles time to the Council of *Nice*, ſcarce was there any one which did not condemn Marriage, or at leaſt decry the Dignity of it, and cry up Celibacy as the moſt Perfect and moſt Vertuous ſtate, and the neareſt way to Heaven. Which alone is no ſmall Prejudice to the Doctrine and Practice of the preſent Church of *Rome*, that the imaginary Excellencies of Celibacy were unknown to the World, till diſcovered by the groſſeſt and moſt fooliſh Hereticks that ever infected the Chriſtian Church. I do not hereby accuſe the Church of *Rome* of their Hereſie, yet cannot but take notice, that in urging Celibacy to her Clergy, ſhe proceeds upon the ſame Principles with them, a greater Perfection, and more refined Piety, an unuſual abſtinence from all Pollutions of the Fleſh, and Pleaſures of the World: That ſome of them enjoyned not Celibacy to all their Followers, but only perſuaded it to thoſe who aimed at Perfection; and that the Hereſie of *Euſtathius*, condemned by the Council of *Gangra*, was *in terminis* revived by the Popes and Councils of the Eleventh Age.

Saturnilus, Diſciple of *Menander*, led the dance; (*a*) *He firſt called Marriage the Doctrine of the Devil*: and was herein followed by an infinite rabble of Hereticks, *Nicolaites*, *Cerinthians*, the Sects of *Marcus*, *Baſilides*, *Carpocrates*, *Iſidorus*, *Marcion*, *Caſſian*, *Tatian*, and many others, who abſolutely rejected Marriage, as unlawful and impure, and beneath the dignity of a ſpiritual and more perfect Chriſtian. To this end, they pretend no leſs ſpecious Reaſons, than are at this day alledged by the Patrons of Celibacy, as, (*b*) that being freed from the Cares of a Family, they might attend the better to Acts of Devotion and Piety: That (*c*) it was a noble Atttempt, and worthy

(*a*) Τὸν γ γάμον ἀπὸ κακῶν τῦ διαβόλυ διδασκαλίαν ἀνόμασε. *Theod. Hæret. Fab.* l. 1. c. 3.

(*b*) *Vid. Clem. Alex.* Strom. l. 3. *in init.*

(*c*) Ὅπερ ἐπὶ τῆ σωμὰ διᾶ, i. e. μηδὲν ἀυτῆ σοβὲς ὑδὸν ἀπόλαστον ἐνδιδύντα, ψυχὴν δ' ἀνθρώπυ διὰ πίστως ἢ γνώσως. *Id. Strom.* l. 3.

the

the ambition of a Christian to surmount all the inclinations of the Flesh, and by afflicting of it intirely subject it to the Soul: not to yeild to the unruly Passions of the Body, but rather by such a Mortification increase the perfections of the Soul with Faith and Knowledge. Nor were these their only Reasons: They also pretend to Tradition, and although immediately after the Apostles deaths, intitled their horrid Doctrines to those Sacred Names; and to confirm their Plea forged Gospels, Acts, and Histories under the Apostles names, injurious to Marriage, and consonant to their own Opinions. But so gross a Heresie, however, backed with great and specious pretences, survived not the middle of the Third Age. When that declined, other more subtil and refined Hereticks arose in their stead, who indirectly and obliquely oppose Marriage, yet upon the same topick of greater Purity and Perfection. Thus the Montanists condemned all second Marriages; and reviled the Catholicks, who defended them, with the opprobious Title of *Psychici* or Carnal Men. Thus the Novatians revolted from the Church, and accused her of licentionsness, because she admitted to Communion those Digamists, who after a Divorce of one Wife, for whatsoever cause, even for that of Adultery, had married another. Lastly, thus the Manichees, although enjoyning Celibacy to none, nor forbidding Marriage to any, through a mistaken Impurity in the use of it, excluded all married Persons from the rank of their Elect, or more perfect Christians, and permitted it only to their Hearers, or inferiour order of their Sect. And when all these Heresies were every where exploded by the Catholick Church; the Reputation of Celibacy still found entertainment in the World, as being more speciously and cunningly proposed, especially by the *Eustathian* Hereticks, who affixed it only to the Clergy, and refused to communicate with married Priests, imagining the Sacraments by them administred to be wholly ineffectual.

Thus did the Celibacy of the Clergy gradually advance from a gross and foolish Heresie to a regular and well formed

formed errour: And however, theſe antient Hereticks committed the moſt abominable Villanies, and unnatural Luſts under pretence of abſolute Purity and Continence, ſo that what Pope *Leo* (a) ſaid of the Priſcillianiſts, might juſtly be applied to them all: *They deteſted Marriage, becauſe there is no liberty for unlcanneſs, where the Chaſtity of the Nuptial Bed, and the hope of Poſterity is preſerved*; notwithſtanding their promiſcuous Fornications, and bruti ſh Luſts, which gave ſcandal to the very Heathens: The glorious pretence of Chaſtity and Perfection gained infinite applauſe in the World, and drew multitudes of Sectators after them. The very name of Encratites or continent Perſons, common to all theſe Hereticks, commanded Veneration from [illegible] people; and all were apt to admire an imaginary Perfection, which they found themſelves ſo much wanted. It ſeems ever to have been the unhappineſs of Mankind to be deluded with exceſſes of Vertue; although all ſuch naturally degenerate into Vices, or at leaſt into things indifferent. Thus a rath and precipitate boldneſs is admired beyond a moderate and well-governed valour; and Enthuſiaſm ever gains greater eſteem than a ſober and rational Devotion. Thus among the Speculative Sects of Heathen Philoſophy Platoniſts, among the Moral Sects, Stoicks and Cynicks, obtained the greateſt applauſe; meerly becauſe the firſt pretended to an extraordinary, and perhaps, impoſſible abſtraction of the Mind from corporeal and ſenſitive Objects; and the latter boaſted of a perfect Immunity from all Paſſions, and the exerciſe of a tyrannical command over the Body: And both ſeemed to trample under foot the conſiderations of Fleſh and Blood, and ſurmount the ordinary Capacity of Mankind. Such prejudices as theſe recommended Celibacy to the World, and advanced the pretentions of theſe antient Hereticks: Who although they corrupted not the whole Church with the Poiſon of their Errour, yet they almoſt every where introduced falſe Notions of Mar-

(a) *Conjugalem copulam deteſtantur, quia non eſt illic libertus turpitudinis, ubi & pudor matrimonii ſervatur, & ſpes ſobolis*, Epiſt. 93. ad Turrib. cap. 7.

riage into the Minds of Men; and although they could not cauſe it to be univerſally condemned, yet at leaſt procured it to be generally deſpiſed. And indeed never did any Hereſie prevail in the Church, which did not leave ſome tincture of it ſelf, even in the Minds of Catholicks. Thus it may be obſerved, that there is not one Writer in the Fifth Age, wherein ſome touch either of Pelagianiſm, or Predeſtinatiſm may not be diſcovered. How far the Hereſie of theſe Encratites prevailed, and ſecretly corrupted the Judgment of Catholicks, I ſhall next enquire.

Firſt then, The Relicks of the *Euſtathian* Hereſie ſo far prevailed among the Catholicks, that many of them believed it highly indecent for him to meddle with the Adminiſtration of Sacred Things, who indulged himſelf the liberty of Marriage, as if he had contracted ſome Impurity thereby, and made himſelf unworthy of the holy Office: an Errour common to all the Patrons of Celibacy, which proceeded ſo far in the time of *Gregory Nazianzen*, that many would not willingly receive Baptiſm, or the Euchariſt from married Prieſts; but much farther in the time of *Hildebrand*, and once again advanced into the formal Hereſie of the Euſtathians. From the Montaniſts the Catholicks received their diſlike of ſecond Marriages, one of the moſt palpable Errours of Antiquity; ſince what the Apoſtle expreſly alloweth, and in ſome Caſes adviſeth, moſt of the Ancients decry as ſcandalous and inconvenient, oft-times as a tolerable Evil, and ſometimes even as a grievous ſin. *Tertullian* hath written whole Books againſt it. *Athenagoras* (*a*) calls it *a decent Adultery*. *Origen* (*b*) maintains that *a Digamiſt, however otherwiſe a perſon of good converſation, and adorned with all other Vertues not to belong to the Church.* I might add many other Fathers and Councils, who impoſed a tedious Penance upon Digamiſts: but the thing is ſufficiently notorious

(*a*) Εὐπρεπὴς ἐπὶ μοιχείᾳ, *Legat. Chriſt. prope fin.*

(*b*) *Puto digamum, licet bonam habeat converſationem, & cæteris virtutibus polleat, non eſſe tamen de Eccleſia.* Hom. 17. *in* Luc. *in fin.*

notorious. This prejudice againſt Digamy was firſt taken up in the end of the Second Age. Before that time ſecond Marriage was thought indifferent, and wholly innocent. *Hermes* (*a*) in the Firſt Age had determined the lawfulneſs of it; and *Clemens Alexandrinus* (*b*) in the next pleads largely for it. From the Gnoſticks the Catholicks received an erroneous Opinion of ſome Impurity and Sinfulneſs, or at leaſt Imperfection in the uſe of Marriage. They ſcrupled not to uſe the Authority of Books forged by thoſe Hereticks in prejudice of Marriage, ſuch as the Goſpel of the *Egyptians*, the Acts of *Paul* and *Tecla*, and the like; and in ſome meaſure adopted their Errours. Thus *Origen*, and one of the moſt early Favourers of Celibacy, writeth thus of Marriage, (*c*) *Although I will not poſitively pronounce, yet I ſuppoſe theſe are ſome ordinary actions of Men, which however they be free from ſin, are not worthy to be honoured with the preſence of the Holy Goſpel: for inſtance, lawful Marriage is not indeed ſinful; yet while conjugal Acts are performed, the Holy Ghoſt will not be preſent; although he ſeems to be a Prophet, who performs them.* St. *Hierom*, the great Patron of Celibacy, in the next Age, goeth farther, and diſputing againſt *Jovinian*, doth in ſome places make Marriage not only ſinful, but even damnable. *If it be good*, ſaith he, (*d*) *for a Man not to touch a Woman, then it is evil to touch her: For nothing is contrary to Good, but Evil. While I per-*

(*a*) *Et dixi, ſi vir vel mulier alicujus deceſſerit, & nupſerit aliquis eorum; nunquid peccat: Qui nubit, non peccat, inquit.* Paſtor, lib. 2. Mandat. 4. Sect. 4.

(*b*) Storm. lib. 3.

(*c*) *Ego autem licet non uſquequaque pronunciem, puto tamen quod ſunt nonnulla etiam communium hominum geſta, quæ quamvis peccato careant, non tam digna videantur, quibus intereſſe putemus Spiritum Sanctum ut verbi gratia dixerim, connubia legitima carent quidem peccato, nec tamen tempore illo, quo conjugales actus geruntur, præſentia Spiritus Sancti dabitur; etiamſi Propheta eſſe videatur, qui officio generationis obſequitur.* Hom. 6. in Num.

(*d*) *Si bonum eſt mulierem non tangere, malum eſt ergo tangere; nihil enim bono contrarium eſt, niſi malum.* Adv. Jovian. l. 1. *Quamdiu impleo mariti officium, non impleo Chriſtiani. Jubet enim Apoſtolus, ut ſemper oremus; ſi ſemper orandum eſt, nunquam ergo conjugio ſerviendum: quoniam quotieſcunque uxori debitum reddo orare poſſum.* Ibid. *Puto quod & nuptiarum finis mors.* Ibid. *Nuptiæ terras replent virginitas Paradiſum.* Ibid. *Et ſicut habentibus uxores tollis licentiam dimittendi eas, ſic virginibus nubendi amputat facultem.* Ibid. *Tolerabiliùs eſt uni homini proſtitutam eſſe quam multis.* Ibid.

form the Duty of a Husband, I do not the Duty of a Chriſtian. For the Apoſtle commandeth we ſhould always pray. If ſo, we muſt never ſerve the ends of Marriage. For as often as I do that, I cannot pray. I ſuppoſe that the end of Marriage is eternal Death. The Earth indeed is filled by Marriage, but Paradiſe by Virginity. And *as the Apoſtle permits not thoſe who are already married to put away their Wives; ſo he forbideth Virgins to marry. Marriage is permitted only as a remedy of Luſt; it being more tolerable to be proſtituted to one man than many.* Nor did this Errour expire with thoſe Hereſies, from whence they roſe. About the year 600. when *Auguſtin*, Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, deſired of Pope *Gregory* ſome Inſtructions for his new Converts in *England*, and Rules of Eccleſiaſtical Diſcipline, he gave him this for one. (*a*) *A Man after he hath laid with his own Wife, ought not to enter into the Church, till he hath waſhed himſelf with water, nor muſt then immediately enter.* Whereas *Clemens Alexandrinus* (*b*) praiſing the Simplicity of the Chriſtian Religion, inſtanceth in this very Ceremony; which although uſed of old by the Jews, he ſaith was no where practiſed in his time by the Chriſtians. Many other erroneons Opinions obtained in the antient Church, which proceeded from no other cauſe but this. I will obſerve but one more: their Opinion of the lawfulneſs of Self-murder to prevent the loſs of Virginity, imagining ſomewhat of Sinfulneſs and Impurity was inſeparably annexed even to the natural act of Generation. So *Euſebius* (*c*) beſtows large Encomiums upon ſome Virgins and Matrons, who had laid violent hands upon themſelves to prevent the Luſt of Heathens: And *Aldhelmus* (*d*) citeth a Sentence of ſome Father more antient than himſelf: *Self-murder is unlawful, unleſs when Chaſtity is endangered*: which he confirms, and illuſtrates with many Reaſons and Examples.

(*a*) *Vir autem cum propria conjuge dormiens, niſi lotus aqua intrare Eccleſiam non debet ſed neque lotus ſtatim intrare debet.* apud Bedam. Hiſt. Eccl. l. 1. c. 27.

(*b*) Strom. lib. 3.

(*c*) Hiſt. Eccl. l. 8. c. 44. & alibi.

(*d*) *Propria manu perire non licet, abſque eo ubi caſtitas periclitatur* lib. *de Virginit. in Orthodoxogr*, p. 1694.

Such

Such weakneſſes of the Antients had deſerved indeed to be buried in Oblivion; if they had not influenced their Practice, and laid the Foundations of an Errour, which continueth even to this day, that Marriage is a ſtate Unbefitting, and Celibacy therefore Neceſſary to the Clergy: An Opinion firſt taken up upon thoſe Prejudices which we have juſt now mentioned, and maintained upon the Authority of thoſe who are led away with theſe Miſtakes. So that to take away the Plea of Antiquity from the Church of *Rome*, in the caſe of Celibacy, it were ſufficient to ſhew, that the Antients received and embraced it meerly for the ſake of theſe Prejudices and Miſtakes: Which we have already done. For theſe were the great and only Arguments of Celibacy, for the firſt Thouſand years; while none were yet ſo fooliſh as to imagin it to be of Divine or Apoſtolical Inſtitution. The pre-conceived Opinions of the impurity of Marriage in all, and great indecency of it in thoſe who adminiſtred Holy things, tended directly to introduce the Celibacy of the Clergy. For theſe Reaſons, (*e*) *Origen* and (*f*) *Euſebius*, who were the only Orthodox Writers before the Council of *Nice*, who openly prefer the Celibacy of the Clergy to their Marriage, deſired it might be introduced. For they rather faintly wiſhed the thing, than dogmatically uſed it; and by their Wiſhes manifeſt, that it was not yet introduced. As for their unreaſonable prejudice againſt Digamy, that contributed no leſs to the cauſe of Celibacy, than the other Miſtakes, For the unlawfulneſs of Digamy once ſuppoſed, the force of the Apoſtles Precept of Marriage to all who could not contain, became wholly enervate; ſince a Man is no leſs ſubject to Incontinence after enjoyment of a Wife for ſome few years, perhaps days, than he was before he ever married. Beſides, all the Patrons of Celibacy failed not to make uſe of this Argument: That if Second Marriage be unlawful or indecent to the Laity, even Firſt Marriage will be ſo to the Clergy

(*e*) *Unde mihi videtur quod illius ſolius eſt ſacrificium offerre indeſinens, qui indeſinenti & perpetuæ ſe devoverit caſtitati.* Hom. 23. in Num.

(*f*) *Demonſtr. Evang.* l. 1. c. 9. *in fine.*

Clergy; it being uſual for them who diſallowed Second Marriage in all, to think Firſt Marriage only a tolerable evil, and permitted in ſome; as Divorce was formerly to the Jews. And then it was a natural order of Superſtition, firſt to forbid Second, and then all Marriage to the Clergy. Therefore we may obſerve, that in the beginning of the Third Age, (a) *Tertullian* affirms Digamy to have been forbidden to the Clergy both by Apoſtolical Tradition, aud the Diſcipline of the Church, and to be generally diſcuſſed by them in his time, as a ſcandalous Imperfection, if not a Crime. But we no where find Marriage forbidden to the Clergy, till the time of the Apoſtolick Canons, firſt publiſhed in the end of this, or beginning of the next Age.

(a) *Ad Uxorem.* l. 1. c. 7.

Theſe Miſtakes and Prejudices, and Reaſons of Celibacy founded upon them, were common to both Churches; but there was one Reaſon peculiar to the Weſtern Church, which however it may ſeem light, was of great efficacy: and that was the unhappy Fall of *Tertullian* into Montaniſm. That Great and Learned Perſon, naturally endowed with an ardent Genius, of a ſevere and inflexible temper of Mind, infinitely zealous for all outward appearances of religious Mortification, and after his Fall prompted with that Enthuſiaſtick Spirit, which was the peculiar Character of the Montaniſts, ſet himſelf to advance the Opinion of his Sect with all imaginable vigour. The unlawfulneſs of Digamy, was the chief Tenet of that Sect, and that founded upon an erroneous Suppoſition of ſome Imperfection in the Uſe even of Firſt Marriage. In maintaining and recommending theſe Errours to the World, *Tertullian* employed all the force of his Wit and Eloquence to debaſe the dignity of Marriage, and extoll the merits of a Single-life, whether Widowhood or Virginity. The extraordinary reverence and eſteem which his great Learning and apparent Zeal procured to him in ſucceeding Ages, mightily propagated his Errours, and corrupted his Readers with falſe Prejudices and Notions of Marriage and Virginity. For altho' it had

had been reasonable and sufficient to say of him, what St. (*b*) *Hierome* once said, when pressed hard with his Authority, He was a Schismatick, no Writer of the Church: Yet few considered that; the persuasive force of his Eloquence was more sensible than the remembrance of his Schism; and then few enquired which Books he writ before, and which after his Fall; or rather it was a common Errour, that he writ very few after, and almost all before his Fall. Whereas in truth he writ before his Fall only the Three little Treatises of Baptism, Repentance, and Prayer; not the Twentieth part of his Works now extant. To this Reputation of *Tertullian*, and the ill Effects of it, contributed not a little the infinite esteem and veneration which St. *Cyprian* had for his Writings; while unwary Persons imagined, that the deference, which that blessed Martyr paid to his Learning and Zeal, was an effect of the soundness and orthodoxy of his Doctrine. However, certain it is, that the Fall of *Tertullian* advanc'd and encreas'd the former Prejudices; and this I take to be the only reason, why Celibacy ever prevailed more in the Western than in the Eastern Church.

(*b*) *De Tertulliano nihil aliud dico, quam Ecclesiæ hominem non fuisse.* Adv. Helvid.

All these Prejudices were in themselves unlawful. But there were other Reasons of preferring Celibacy in the Ancient Church; which might have been allowed, if not attended with such fatal Consequences. And first, many Catholicks openly espoused the cause of Celibacy, and others winked at their Policy, meerly to prevent the Delusion of more simple Catholicks, by the no less glorious than fraudulent Pretences of the *Encratites*: (*a*) *Who* (to use St. *Hierome*'s words) *because they knew the name of Virginity was venerable, covered the Wolves under Sheepscloathing. Antichrist pretended to act the part of Christ, and veiled the uncleanness of their Lives, with the false honour of that usurped Name.* They esteemed it a laudable Policy to prevent the Mischief, by proposing to the Practice of Men that very

(*a*) *Quia sciunt virginale vocabulum gloriosum, sub ovium pellibus lupos tegunt. Christum mentitur Antichristus, & turpitudinem vitæ falso nomine honore convestiant.* Epist. ad Eustoch. de custod. Virgin.

very Perfection, which the Hereticks so much boasted of, and the Multitude were apt to admire, as being always easier led with great Pretences, than sober Truth. A not unlike Policy with this, was afterwards used by (b) St. *Chrysostome* against the *Arians*; when fearing the People would be seduced by their Enthusiastical singing of Hymns, he set up the same way of singing of Hymns among the Catholicks, and thereby prevented the design of the *Arians*; a Stratagem, as the (c) Historian observeth, and may be applied to our case; which however specious, was the Occasion of very ill Consequences.

(b) *Socrat.* l. 6. c. 8.

(c) Ἐδόκει τῆς εἶναι Χρηστός.

While Celibacy thus gained ground by the Artifice of Hereticks, and Connivance of Catholicks, few interposed themselves to undeceive Mankind, and stop the torrent of these vulgar Prejudices; as well because the immoderate esteem of Celibacy seem'd a Matter of no great moment, while it was forcibly imposed upon none, nor made necessary to any; as because the dis-favour and unjust suspicions of the Multitude would probably have attended such an undertaking: While unreasonable Men would have esteemed such a Person as a Libertine, an Enemy of refined and more severe Religion, and thought him to have therein pleaded only for his own Passions and Inclinations. And when Celibacy became once universally esteemed, and great numbers of Lay-men vowing Virginity, voluntarily abstained from Marriage, who by their supposed Sanctity and specious Abstinence, drew to themselves the eyes and admiration of all Men; the Clergy also were necessitated to make some advances in the Use of Celibacy, that they might not suffer loss of Reputation, and seem less Vertuous and Spiritual than Laymen. Hence St. *Hierome* frequently urgeth the Celibacy of the Clergy, by the Example of Lay-Virgins, affirming it to be highly indecent that the Laity should exceed the Clergy even in voluntary Acts of Piety and Mortification. This Reason afterwards received great advantage from the wonderful encrease of Monkery, and Vows of Continence,

tinence, in the Fourth and Fifth Ages; insomuch that (a) *Faustus* the *Manichee* objected to St. *Austin*, that the immoderate Commendation of Virginity had among the Catholicks produced this Effect, that in all their Churches there seem'd to be a greater number of professed Virgins, than married Women. No wonder then, if Reverence attending the unmarried, and Contempt the married Clegry, Celibacy prevailed in the Church, and Marriage by being dis-esteemed became also dis-used; especially since Ambition contributed not a little to it. For from the end of the Fourth Age, the Bishops and greater Clergy were generally chosen out of the Monks, and thereby Celibacy became the nearest way to Preferment.

(a) *Ut penè jam major in Ecclesiis omnibus virginum apud vos quam mulierum numerositas habeatur. Apud Augustin.* lib. 30.

But to return to the Third Age; the frequent Persecutions of that time, did not a little advance the Cause of Celibacy; it being highly convenient to the Church, that the Clergy should shew an Example of Constancy and Resolution to all other Christians, which it was believed they would more readily perform, when freed from the encumbrances of a married state, and not with-holden with the temptations of Wife and Children. For the fury of the Heathen Persecutors generally fell most heavy upon the Clergy, and sometimes was directed against them only: So that to be promoted to any eminent Place in the Church, was to be exposed to certain Martyrdom. For this reason, as *Eusebius* somewhere relates, in the Choice of Bishops, single Persons were commonly preferred before married Men, in Times of Persecution. And then Celibacy was no grievous and intolerable burthen, when attended with a continual Expectation of Death, and being hurried away to Execution. To which may be added, that few were then received into the Priesthood, but aged Men, who by a long course of Vertue, had given sufficient proof of their Continence and unspotted Chastity. Whereas in the Church of *Rome*, Boys were admitted to Profess or make a Vow of Continence at Fourteen,

Girls at Twelve years of age, till the Council of *Trent*, which reduced it to Sixteen.

All theſe Reaſons concurred in the Firſt Ages, to encreaſe the eſteem of Celibacy, and prejudice the Marriage of the Clergy. The way was opened, by forbidding Second Marriage to the Clergy, and receiving none into Holy Orders, who had married twice after Baptiſm. For if a Man married once before, and again after Baptiſm, he was commonly reputed no Digamiſt. This Prejudice againſt Second Marriage encreaſed ſo far, that all were made uncapable of Holy Orders, who had married Widows; leſt they ſhould ſeem to countenance thereby the ſuppoſed ſcandal of Digamy. I mean not hereby, that Second Marriage was forbidden to the Clergy by any Council, or Orders denied to all Digamiſts, none excepted; for neither the one nor the other of thoſe Suppoſitions is true, but only that it became the general and ordinary practice of the Church, not to permit Second Marriage to thoſe already ordained, nor Orders to thoſe already twice married. In the ſame manner a Cuſtom was introduced, and by the end of the Third Age eſtabliſhed in the Church, that the Clergy might indeed freely retain their Wives married before the reception of Orders, but not marry after Orders once received. Not that this was yet forbidden by any Canon, nor practiſed without Exception, (for the contrary of that we ſhall immediately demonſtrate,) but only was the uſual and more ordinary Diſcipline of the Church: Whence both the Prohibition of Digamy, and Marriage after Orders to the Clergy, were inſerted among the Apoſtolical Canons, wherein that is the Sixteenth, this the Twenty fifth (*a*) Canon. Theſe Apoſtolical Canons were not the Conſtitutions of any Council, much leſs Precepts and Inſtitutions of the Apoſtles, but only the Cuſtoms and Uſages of the Eaſtern Church, in the end of the Third and beginning of the Fourth Age; which ſeem to have been collected about that time by ſome private Hand, however then authorized by the Uſe,

(*a*) Τῶν εἰς κλῆρον προσιόντων ἀγάμων κωλύομεν γαμεῖν ἀναγκάσαι δὲ φάλτας μόνους.

Uſe, and afterwards confirmed by the Decree of the Church.

This Cuſtom of the Ancient Church, however it may ſeem almoſt equivalent to an Impoſition of Celibacy, was yet far from it. For firſt it was not ſo ſtrict and univerſal, as to admit no Exception. Marriage was permitted to many, even after the reception of Orders, as we ſhall ſhew by and by from the Canon of *Ancyra*; and allowed indifferently to all, if they receded from the Execution of their Office, and returned to Lay-Communion in order to it; as we ſhall alſo hereafter prove. Secondly, If any Perſon to be ordained were not yet married, and did in the leaſt ſuſpect he ſhould not be able afterwards to contain without Marriage; he was not only permitted, but even adviſed by the Church, firſt to Marry, and then to receive Orders: So that they frequently married, whileſt Candidates of the Prieſthood, and already deſigned to that Holy Office, perhaps but ſome few days before their admittance into it. So the Sixth General Council renewing this very Apoſtolick Canon, forbid any to marry after Orders once received; and adds, (*b*) *But if any one who comes to be ordained, hath a mind to joyn himſelf unto a Wife with the bond of Marriage, let him do it before he be ordained Deacon, or Sub-deacon, or Prieſt, and then receive Orders.*

(*b*) Εἰ δέ βέλοιτό τις τῶν εἰς κλῆρον προσερχομένων γάμου νόμῳ συνάπτεσθαι γυναικὶ, πρότερον τὸ διακόνου ἢ ὑποδ. ἢ πρεσβ. τοῦτο ποιείτω *Can.* 6.

Thirdly, By allowing to the Clergy the free Uſe of Marriage contracted before their Ordination, they acknowledged both the lawfulneſs and decency of their Marriage, whether contracted before or after Ordination. For if there be any indecency in Marriage, which makes it unbecoming the dignity and holineſs of the Prieſthood, it muſt be in the Uſe of it, as all confeſs; and if ſo, the Uſe of Marriage, contracted before as well as after Ordination, will become indecent. For the Contract itſelf is a thing moſt honeſt and decorous, ſo far from carrying any impurity and indecency along with it, that the Church of *Rome* believeth it to be a Sacrament. What were the

particular Reasons why the Antient Church permitted to the Clergy the Use of the one Marriage, and disallowed the other, may be probably reduced from what we have already said. For those Men who were led away by the Mistakes and Prejudices produced in the Church by the Heresie of the *Encratites*, endeavoured at least to introduce this Custom; when they despaired of a total Abrogation of the Clergies Marriage, and perhaps thought that intolerable in itself, or inconvenient to the Church. And then those who otherwise clearly perceived the falshood of these Prejudices, contented themselves with silence, and connived at the Introduction of this Custom, as well for fear of a Popular Odium and Dis-esteem, as because they were convinced by the Reasons last mentioned, that such a Custom, if it proceeded no farther, was little less than equivalent to a total Permission of Marriage. To which may be added, that the Rites of Marriage being anciently, especially among the Greeks, always celebrated with great Riot and Luxury, continued for many days together; it was thought unbefitting the gravity of a Clergyman to be present at, much more to be chief Actor in such licentious Solemnities. Upon which account, the Councils of (*a*) *Laodicea*, and (*b*) *Agatha*, forbid the Clergy to be present at Nuptial Feasts; although the (*c*) *Quinisext* Council restrained that Prohibition only to the ludicrous and more trifling part of the Solemnity.

(*a*) *Can.* 54.
(*b*) *Can.* 39.
(*c*) *Can.* 24.

In some of the Clergy, these Prejudices of the Excellency of Celibacy, and the Inconvenience of Marriage to the dignity of their Order, prevailed so far, that upon pretence of Continence and greater Purity, they sequestred their Wifes, although unwilling, from their bed, and sometimes from their society. The superstitious and scandalous conduct of these Men was universally condemned and censured by the Church: Whence among the Apostolick Canons, this is one; (*d*) *Let no Bishop, Priest or Deacon put away his Wife upon pretence of Religion. If he doth, let him be excomunicated; and if he continue obstinate, be degraded.* Our Adversaries indeed pretend, that this Canon was not opposed to a denial of Nuptial Duties by the Clergy

(*d*) Τὴν ἑαυτῆς γυναῖκα μὴ ἀπαλλάττω προφάσει εὐλαβείας. *Can.* 5

to

to their Wives, but to a denial of Maintainance, and turning them out of doors to beg their Living. But the vanity of this Plea is evident. For not to say that the constant acceptance of the word ἐκβάλλειν imports no more than a sequestration from the Bed, the Canon in the sense of our Adversaries would be useless and trifling. For we do not find, nor can imagin, that so great an abuse ever obtained in the Church, as that the Clergy should eject their innocent Wives, and expose them to want and poverty. Whereas that many removed them from their Bed, and believed their embraces unlawful after Orders received, is already clearly proved, and on all sides confessed. The Errour of the Impurity of Marriage had so far obtained in the Minds of many, that it was necessary for the Church to interpose her Judgment, and vindicate the Cause of injured Marriage. For as *Aristenus* (*a*) truly paraphrases this Canon, *A Clergyman by sequestring his Wife from his Bed seem to accuse Marriage, as if he thought the lawful pleasures of it to be impious.* The same saith *Zonaras* (*b*) upon this Canon. This was also the occasion of the like Precept in the Apostolick Constitutions (a Work of the same Age and Authority with the Canons) where the Apostles are introduced thus speaking: (*c*) *He which maketh a Vow of Virginity, (which we leave to every ones choice, only advise that it be not done rashly and lightly) let him demonstrate his profession to be sincere, and undertaken for a better opportunity of Piety, not for dislike of Marriage.* The same Precept may be found in the interpolated Epistle of St. *Ignatius* to the *Philadelphians*: But what clears the Matter beyond all doubt, is, that when the Council of *Nice* rejected the motion of those who proposed a total Celibacy of the Clergy, and upon the persuasions of *Paphnutius* permitted to them the use of Wives married before Ordination, they formed a Decree to that purpose

(*a*) Ἔοικεν τὴν γάμον διαβάλλειν, ὡς ἀκάθαρτον ὂν τὸ νομίως μιγνυσθαι. *Syntagm. Alphabet. lit.* γ. cap. 16.

(*b*) Comm. in Can.

(*c*) Δεῖ δεικνύειν τὸ ἐπάγγελμα ὅτι, ἐστὶν ἀληθὲς, καὶ διὰ σχολὴν εὐσεβείας οὐ διὰ διαβολὴν γάμου γενομένην. lib. 4. c. 13.

purpose in the very words of this Apostolick Canon

(d) Μὴ δεῖν τοὺς ἱερωμένους ἔχειν τινὰ ἐκτὸς γαμετὴν ἐπεισάκτον. (d) *That the Clergy ought not every one to put away his Wife.* *Gelasius Cyzic. Hist. Concil. Nicen.* l. 2. c. 32.

In the beginning of the Fourth Age, Celibacy received great Advances from the increase of Errours and Prejudices taken up in the former Age, and the length and a sharpness of the last Prosecution begun by *Diocletian*, and continued by *Maximus* and *Licinius*, which infused melancholy thoughts into all Christians, and an unusual reverence for all shews of Austerity and Mortification. Then was Marriage first forbidden to Priests and Bishops after Ordination by a judiciary Act of the Church, but that formed in a Provincial and inconsiderable Council, whose Canons were never taken notice of, or ratified by any subsequent Councils, or even Popes, till the midst of the Ninth Age: I mean the Council of *Neocæsarea*, which in the year 314. made this Canon,

(e) Πρεσβύτερος ἐὰν γήμῃ τὴν τάξεως αὐτὸν μετατίθεσθαι, ἐὰν δὲ πορνεύσῃ ἢ μοιχεύσῃ, ἐξωθεῖσθαι αὐτὸν τέλεον, καὶ ἀγεσθαι αὐτὸν εἰς μετάνοιαν. *Can.* 1.

(e) *If a Presbyter marry, let him be deposed from his Order; but if he commit Fornication or Adultery, let him be cast out of the Church, and put to Penance.* Where it may be observed. 1. That this Canon forbids not the use of Wives married before Ordination. 2. That it forbids not to Deacons and Subdeacons to contract Marriage even after Ordination. 3. That it manifestly distinguisheth between Fornication and Marriage after Ordination. 4. That it doth not command a Separation from Wives so Married, but only a dimission of the holy Office.

However, the pretentions of Celibacy received no small check from the Council of *Ancyra*, held the same year: A Council of far greater Esteem and Authority, which was ratified and confirmed by many subsequent Councils and Popes, particularly by *Leo* the First, (a) and whose Canons were received into the antient Code of Canons in the Primitive Church. The Fathers of this Council considering the inconveniencies of forced Celibacy and right,

(a) *Apud Gratian*, Dist. 20. cap. 1.

right, which all men have to Marriage, Decreed, (*b*) That *if Deacons yet unmarried protested of the time of their Ordination, their intentions and necessity of Marrying, as not being able to continue Unmarried; they might Marry after their Ordination, and continue in their Office. But if they made no such Protestation of their Ordination, and afterwards Married, they should relinquish their Office.* The pretentions of *Baronius* and *Binius*, that in both Cases Deacons Marrying after their Ordination, were obliged to lay down their Office, deserveth not to be considered, since nothing could be invented more directly contrary to the plain words of the Canon. It is more considerable that *Aristenus* (*c*) extends this Canon also to Presbyters, reading it Διάκονοι ἢ πρεσβύτεροι, and affirms that by vertue of it, both Presbyters and Deacons were always allowed Marriage in the Greek Church after Ordination, if they had not neglected to make their Ptotestation; till this Permission was repealed by the *Quinisext* Council in the year 692. That this Canon took place in the *Western* Church appears not particularly, except from the universal approbation of the Acts of this *Ancyran* Council; although somewhat like it was enacted in the Eleventh Council of *Toledo* (*d*) in the year 531. To which we may add what Sir *H. Spelman* relates in the British Councils, (*e*) that *Restitutus* Bishop of *London*, returning from the Council of *Arles*, in the year 314. brought with him into *England* the Canons of that Council, amongst which one was this very Canon of the Council of *Ancyra*. Indeed, no such Canon is now found in the Acts of the Council of *Arles* published by *Sirmond*: but then we are to remember that these Acts are not intire, and perhaps not genuin.

(*b*) Διάκονοι ὅσοι καθίστανται παρ' αὐτὴν εἰ ἐμβρτύροντο, καὶ ἔφασαν χρῆναι γαμῆσαι, μὴ δυναμένους οὕτως μένειν οὕτοι μετὰ ταῦτα γαμήσαντες ἔστωσαν ἐν τῇ ὑπηρεσίᾳ, &c. *Can.* 10.

(*c*) Comm. in Can. 6. Concili VI.

(*d*) Can. 1.

(*e*) Tom. 1. p. 43.

The Decree of *Ancyra* was indeed favourable to the Marriage of the Clergy, but the restless Importunities and scandalous Practices of the Sectatours of Celibacy obliged the Church to proceed yet farther, and declare it self more openly in favour of their Marriage. For *Eustathius*, Bishop

Sozom. l. 3. c. 14. l. 4. c. 24. Bishop of *Sebastea* in *Armenia*, and first Founder of a Monastick Life in *Armenia* and *Cappadocia*, had formed a new, but then plausible Heresie, that Holy Things, and the Sacraments of the Church, ought not to be Administred by the married Clergy, and that the People ought not to communicate from their hands. With this Doctrine he had drawn great numbers into Schism, and created no small disturbance in the Church. Upon which account the Council of *Gangra* met about the year 324. who condemning this Heresie, and deposing the Author of it, published this following Canon: (a) *If any one separates from a married Priest, as if it were unlawful to communicate, when he officiates; let him be Anathema.* A Canon the more considerable for the Authority of the Council which made it. For this was ever most reputed of all particular Councils in the antient Church, confirmed by many general Councils and Popes, and recieved into the antient Code of Canons.

(a) Ἔι τις διακρίνοιτο παρὰ πρεσβυτέρου γεγαμηκότος, ὡς μὴ χρῆναι λειτουργήσαντος αὐτοῦ προσφορᾶς μεταλαμβάνειν, ἀνάθεμα ἔστω. *Can.* 4.

This was the Progress and Condition of Celibacy in the *Eastern* Church before the Council of *Nice*. In the *West*, if we except perhaps that of *Arles* (for the Roman Synods under Pope *Sylvester* are confessedly spurious) no Councils had determined any thing in it, but that of *Eliberis* in the year 305. which ordained (b) that *Bishops, Priests and Deacons, and all the Clergy placed in the Ministry* (or while they Minister) *should abstain from their Wives, and not attend to procreation. If any doth, let him be deposed from the Order of the Clergy.* Here to pass by the Opinion of those mentioned by *Albas Pinaus*, (c) who expounded the words of this Canon in their Grammatical Sense, for the Latin runs thus: *We absolutely forbid the Clergy to abstain from their Wives*; in which case it will be coincident with the Fifth Apostolick Canon: our Adversaries maintain that it is to be understood of a total abstinence of

(b) *Placuit in totum prohiberi Episcopis, Presbyteris, & Diaconibus, vel omnibus, Clericis positis in ministerio, abstinere se à conjugibus suis & non generare filios. Quicunque vero feceret, ab honore Clericatus exterminetur.* Can. 33.

(c) Not. in Can.

of the Clergy from their Wives. If we ſhould grant this, it would not much prejudice our Cauſe, ſince this was that fooliſh Council, which forbids (*d*) Candles to be lighted in Church-yards in the day time, leaſt the Souls of the dead Saints ſhould be diſquieted: a Council of ſo little Reputation, that it never was confirmed by any Pope or Council to this day. But I doubt not to evince, that this Canon is to be thus underſtood only of a temporary abſtinence of the Clergy, while they performed their Office in their turns. For the Clergy had not then as now each one his Pariſh aſſigned him wherein to officiate; but all of one City, at leaſt in the leſſer Cities, belonging to one Church, ſupplied the neceſſities of the Church in Order, and relieved one the other by turns. That this Canon is to be thus underſtood, appeareth. 1. From the plain words of it, where *Poſitis in miniſterio* muſt either ſignifie this, or be wholly impertinent; ſince all the Clergy, by the very nature of their Office, are placed in the Miniſtry of the Church. 2. Otherwiſe total Abſtinence will be enjoyned to Subdeacons, Readers, Exorciſts and Acolythi, as well as to Biſhops, Prieſts and Deacons; and ſo *Albaſpinæus* (*e*) explains the words in *totum prohiberi, it is forbidden*, ſaith he, *to all Clergy-men whatſoever*. Whereas Subdeacons were never forbidden the uſe of Marriage, till the middle of the Fifth Age; and the three inferiour Orders are not at this day forbidden it in the Church of *Rome*. 3. When a total Abſtinence of Biſhops, Prieſts and Deacons was propoſed in the Council of *Nice*, all the Hiſtorians of that Council expreſs it by ſaying, ſome endeavoured to introduce καινὸν νόμον, *a new and unheard of Law*: and *Paphnutius* oppoſing it, pleaded that the Church ought not to be burdened with new Impoſitions, but that the univerſal Tradition and practice of it was to be preſerved. Now if this total Abſtinence had twenty years before been impoſed by the Council of *Eliberis*, all thoſe Hiſtorians had miſtaken; and *Hoſius*, Biſhop of *Corduba*, who had been preſent in the Council of *Eliberis*, and preſided in that of *Nice*, would not have ſuffered the Fathers to be led away with the falſe repreſentations of *Paphnutius*.

(*d*) Can. 34.

(*e*) *Loc. cit. omnibus omnino Clericis.*

Celibacy was not yet arrived at its Crisis, universally indeed applauded, but no where imposed; yet had the unreasonable affection of it in many Clergy-men, and an immoderate Ambition of the honour of Virginity in many Lay Persons, already introduced two of the most enormous Scandals, that ever the Church laboured under from the Apostles to this day, I mean Emasculation, and Συνεισακτοι. These Συνεισακτοι were unmarried Women, commonly those who had vowed perpetual Virginity, taken into the house as Domestick Assistants by Clergy-men, who had either never married, or buried their Wives; or unmarried Men, commonly of the Clergy taken into the House, in the same Quality, by Women or Virgins, who had vowed Continence. We want a proper English word to express them, and therefore must be content to call them House-keepers: they were called by the Greeks, Εισακτοι and Αγαπηται, but most commonly Συνεισακτοι, which name was first given (a) by the people of *Antioch* to the House-keepers of *Paulus Samosatenus*, their Bishop and his Clergy; by the Latins they were termed *Subintroductæ*, *Adscititiæ*, *Extraneæ*, *Alienæ*, *Dilectæ*, *Sorores*, *Commanentes*, and *Focariæ*. They were taken in by most under pretence of Piety to encourage and assist one another by Spiritual Conference and Exhortations, but by all upon pretence of Domestick Assistance, that the Men might defend the Women from all injuries, to which otherwise that weak Sex is exposed; and the Women might provide Necessaries for the Men, and take care of their Families. Some perhaps made good their Pretences by a sober and prudent Conversation: but the greatest part indulged to themselves the most inward Familiarities of Man and Wife, and made them even the Companions of their sleep, where they used all the Embraces, Caresses, and Allurements of the Nuptial Bed, save only Carnal Knowledge. And all this they openly maintained to be lawful; and thought it not injurious to their Profession of Virginity, and the integrity of their Chastity. But some proceeded farther, and by visible effects discovered the Approaches of a nearer Familiarity, and more close Embraces, to their own Shame, and the great Scandal of the Church. Others finding or fearing, they should not be

(a) *Euseb.* l. 7. c. 30.

be able to contain in the midſt of ſo great Temptations. (*For can a Man take Fire into his Boſom, and not be burnt*; Prov. 6. 27. as the Fathers frequently applied to this Caſe) emaſculated themſelves, that they might at leaſt prevent all viſible Scandal, when they could not extinguiſh the Fire of their Minds. Thus did (*a*) *Leontius* the *Arian*, Biſhop of *Antioch*, for the love of *Euſtolium* his Paramour: and that the abuſe was frequent even among the Catholicks, appears from all the Writers of thoſe times, eſpecially, the Author of the Book, *De ſingularitate Clericorum*, and St. *Baſil*'s Treatiſe of true Virginity, where he eloquently deſcribes and bewails the ſcandalous familiarity of theſe Eunuchs and Houſe-keepers.

(*a*) Socrat. l. 2. c. 25. Athanas. Apol. de fuga.

See two egregious Scandals, the immediate effects even of a voluntary Celibacy in the antient Church, greater than any which the Church now ſuffers, in the dregs of time. We needed not ſay any more of them; if the unreaſonable wills of our Adverſaries did not neceſſitate us to clear the Matter a little farther. They maintain that by theſe, Συνείσακτοι were meant alſo the Wives of the Clergy; a pretence, which however ſhameleſs and fooliſh, was the main Engine of advancing Celibacy in the latter Age; when the Authority of all thoſe Councils, which had forbidden Houſe-keepers to the Clergy was produced againſt their Marriage; and the ignorance of thoſe Ages had fitted them for a miſerable Deluſion by ſuch Impoſtures. To paſs by then the Confeſſion of ſome learned Writers of the Church of *Rome*, and the conſtant practice of the *Eaſtern* Church, which always forbids Houſe-keepers, but never Wives to the Clergy. I will only oppoſe a few Paſſages of the Antient Writers. St. *Cyprian* lamenting the folly of many conſecrated Virgins, who had entred into the Families, and even into the Beds of unmarried Clergymen, ſaith, (*b*) *Laſtly, how grievous falls of many do we ſee hereby produced; and with extreme grief behold the corruption of many Virgins, by theſe unlawful and dangerous familiarities. Wherefore, if they deſire the reward of Virginity, let them be*

(*b*) *Denique quàm graves multorum ruinas hinc fieri videmus, & per hujuſmodi illicitas & periculoſas conjunctiones corrumpi plurimas virgineis cum ſummo animi noſtri dolore compiſcimus.* Epiſt. 62. ad Pomponium.

Virgins in good earnest; but if they will not, or cannot contain, let them Marry. The Author of the Book, *De Singularitate Clericorum* hath these words: (c) *Why hath he taken a House-keeper, who scorned to marry a Wife; So he who despised the Bond of Marriage, and yet retains the familiarity of Women, although he be not actually polluted, yet enjoy them by Imagination, Sight, Conversation and Society.* St. *Gregory Nazianzen* professeth (d) *he knows not whether to call them married or unmarried Persons; since in an unmarried State they performed the Duties of Marriage.* St. *Chrysostom* in like manner saith, *They are neither Wives nor Concubines, but a middle kind unknown to former Ages*; and thus bespeaks them: (e) *If you desire to have Men dwell with you, you ought not to have chosen Virginity, but to have married. For it had been much better so to have married, than thus to profess Virginity. For such a marrige neither God condemns, nor Man blames; for 'tis an honourable State, injurious to none, scandalous to none. But this Virginity, performed in the company of Men, is accused by all Men as worse than open Fornication,* Lastly, thus St. *Hierom* describes them, (f) *I am ashamed to speak it; it is sad but true. Whence did this plague of House-keepers enter into the Church? Whence without Marriage another name for Wives? yea, whence this new kind of Concubines? I will say more; whence these Whores tied to the oompany of one Man? They lodge in the same House, in one Chamber, and oft-times in one Bed, and yet they call us unreasonably suspicious, if we think any thing amiss.* Such then were these Συνείσακτοι first introduced

(c) *Ut quid sibi adhibuit mulierem, qui ducere contemsit uxorem.——— Ita is qui despexit vinculum nuptiarum, & aliter vinculis fæmineis obligatur; quamvis, &c. ante med.*

(d) Τὰς δὲ συνεισάκτους, ὥς δὴ φάσκουσιν ἅπαντες, Οὐκ οἶδ' εἴτε γάμῳ δώσομεν, εἴτι ἀγάμους Θήσομεν, εἴτε μέσον τί φυλάξομεν. *Carm. de Virginit.*

(e) Εἰ γὰρ ἄνδρας ἐπιθυμεῖς ἔχειν συνοικοῦντας, οὐκ ἔδει παρθενίαν ἐλέσθαι ἀλλ' ἐπὶ γάμον ἐλθεῖν, πολλῷ γὰρ βέλτιον γαμεῖν ἐκείνως ἢ παρθενεύειν οὕτως, &c. *Hom. 1. contra* Συνεισ.

(f) *Pudet dicere, proh nefas! Triste, sed verum est. Unde in Ecclesiam Agapetarum pestis introiit? unde sine nuptiis aliud nomen uxorem? immo unde novum concubinarum genus. Plus inferam, unde meretrices univiræ? Eadem domo, uno cubiculo, sæpe uuo tenentur & lectulo: & suspiciosos nos vocant, si aliquid existimamus.* Epist. ad Eustoch. de custod. Virgin.

troduced in the middle of the Third Age, and notwithſtanding the frequent Prohibitions of Councils, and Declimations of Fathers, continued in the Church, but with greateſt Scandal about the Year 400. till at laſt they degenerated into open Concubines in the Church of *Rome*; in which ſtate the Reformation found them generally then thought Lawful, or at leaſt a venial Sin; although none ſince hath dared to defend them. They were forbidden in the Ancient Church by the Councils of (*b*) *Eliberis*, (*c*) *Ancyra*, (*d*) *Nice*, the (*e*) Firſt, and (*f*) Third of *Carthage*, the (*g*) Third of *Conſtantinople*, the (*h*) Second of *Nice*, (*i*) *Aquiſgran*, and many others; and by the Emperor *Juſtinian* in his (*k*) Novels. As for Emaſculation, that was ſeverely forbidden by the Apoſtolick (*l*) Canons, and the Council of (*m*) *Nice*, and ſeems to have been diſ-uſed before the Year 500.

(*b*) *Can.* 27.
(*c*) *Can.* 19.
(*d*) *Can.* 3.
(*e*) *Can.* 3.
(*f*) *Can.* 17.
(*g*) *Can.* 5.
(*h*) *Can.* 18.
(*i*) *Can.* 39.
(*k*) *Novel* 123.
(*l*) *Can.* 21.
(*m*) *Can.* 1.

Upon occaſion of theſe Συνεισακτοι, it will not be here inconvenient to ſpeak ſomewhat of the Book *de Singularitate Clericorum*, which we juſt now cited. This Book, however in its Title it may ſeem to oppoſe the Marriage of the Clergy, is one of the moſt pregnant Evidences of the Uſe of it in the Ancient Church, that is now extant. It is by ſome aſcribed to *Origen*, by others to St. *Auguſtin*, but by moſt to St. *Cyprian*. However, all Learned Men now agree, that it belongs to none of them. The late Learned Editors of St. *Cyprian*'s Works, at *Oxford*, conjecture it to have been written about the time of *Bede*. Rather it was moſt certainly written before the middle of the Fifth Age, becauſe the Author of it makes uſe of the old *Italick* Verſion, which was in uſe in the *Latin* Church before St. *Hierom*'s Tranſlation. Moſt probably therefore it was writ in the Fourth Age. The ſcope of it is to decry and reform the abuſe of Houſe-keepers, which (as the Author ſaith) (*n*) was then become ſo ſcandalous in the Church, that the unmarried Clergy *could not endure to ſleep without the company of a Woman*. If in the heat of Diſputation he lets fall any thing injurious to Marriage, it is ſuch as oppoſeth no leſs the Marriage of the Laity than of the Clergy; and indeed the former part of the Treatiſe is nothing

(*n*) *Non durant ſine fœmineæ ſodalitate dormire.*

nothing elſe but a Satyr againſt Women. But the deſign of the Author, and the lawfulneſs and uſe of the Clergies Marriage in his time, may be evidently collected from many places. I will produce one or two of them, premiſing this Obſervation, that the Author ranks thoſe Women alſo among the Συνείσακτοι, who lived in the Houſe with married Clergymen, if they had no Relation of Kindred or Marriage to them: That the company of near Relations was never denied to the Clergy, ſince proximity of Blood, and the dictates of Nature, ſufficiently ſecured their Honour; and that all other Women but Relations and Wives are by this Author termed *Alienæ* and *Extraneæ*, *Strange Women*. (a) *If then* (ſaith he) *the Clergy inſtead of putting away their Wives ſo fondly adhere to Strange Women; What would they do, if they were commanded to put away their Wives and Children? Or how will they be able to renounce their Kindred for Chriſt, who preferr to the Commands of Chriſt, Women endeared to them by no other Obligations?* And in another place, (b) *I affectionately entreat you, O Clergymen, if any of you hath a Mother, a Daughter, a Siſter, a Wife, or a Kinſwoman living with you; ye ſo ſave her, that no Waiting-maid live with them, nor any other Strange Woman have acceſs; leſt you be ſuſpected to retain your Relations with you for this only reaſon, that ye may under that Pretence take Strange Women into your houſes. If they cannot want the ſervice or aſſiſtance of Maids, or the company of Friends of their own Sex; it is better that they ſhould remove into another houſe, than that ye ſhould entertain Strange Women for their ſakes: For as it would be unfit that a Clergyman ſhould deprive them of the neceſſary aſſiſtance of their Sex; ſo it is indecent that they ſhould injure his Reputation, by bringing ſuſpicious Women into his company.* To which may be added the Teſtimony before cited; wherein the Author upbraids to thoſe Clergymen who could not live without Houſekeepers, their neglect to marry Wives. We

(a) *Qui nunc pro dimittendis fœminis, alienis adhærent; quid facerent, ſi liberos & uxores projicere jubeantur? Aut quando valebunt pro Chriſto renunciare cognatis, qui mulierculas non ſuas præponunt Chriſti præceptis?* Poſt Med.

(b) *Rogo vos, Clerici, quantum valeo,* —— *Si quis habet matrem, vel filiam, vel ſororem, vel conjugem, vel cognatam; ſic habeat, ut nulla ancilla interſit, neque alia ingrediatur extranea, &c.* prope fine.

We are now come to the great and Famous Council of *Nice*, wherein the Cause of Celibacy was debated and decided. I will represent the whole matter, in the words of *Socrates* the Historian; (*c*) *It seemed good to some Bishops to introduce a new Law into the Church, That the Clergy, I mean Bishops, Priests and Deacons, should not lay with their Wives, which they had married being yet Lay-men. And when the thing was proposed to be consulted of,* Paphnutius *standing up in the midst of the Assembly of the Bishops, contended vehemently that so heavy a Yoke ought not to be imposed upon the Clergy, saying, that even Marriage was undefiled* (or chaste) *and the Use of it honourable; that they should take heed of rather injuring the Church by this excess of Severity: For that all could not contain, neither perhaps could the chastity of every one's Wife be preserved,* (or as *Sozomen* expresseth it, *For that it was a thing very hard to be borne, and would perhaps be the cause of Incontinence both to themselves and to their Wives.*) *But he asserted the company of a lawful Wife to be Chastity; that it was sufficient that he who was first Ordained, should not Marry after it, according to the Ancient Discipline of the Church; but that none ought to be separated from that Wife which he had before married, while he was yet a Lay-man. And this he said, being himself unmarried, and brought up from his Youth in a Monastick and Ascetick Life. The whole Council yielded to the Arguments of* Paphnutius, *and therefore ceased any farther Debate, leaving it to the will of every one, whether they would abstain from the company of their Wives or not.* (*a*) *Sozomen* and (*b*) *Nicephorus* relate it almost in the same words, (*c*) *Suidas* in the very same, (*d*) *Cassidiorus* in the like words; and so do (*e*) *Ivo Carnotensis*, (*f*) *Gratian*, and (*g*) *Blastares*, and who is ancienter than them all, except the two first, (*h*) *Gelasius Cyzicenus*, who transcribed the Acts of that Council out of a Copy which had belonged to *Dalmatius*, Bishop of *Cycicum*, who was present in the *Ephesine* Council, in the Year 431. So that they who doubt of the Truth of this History, may with equal reason deny the Existence of the *Nicene* Council,

(*n*) Ἐδόκει τοῖς ἐπισκόποις νόμον νεαρὸν εἰς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν εἰσφέρειν, &c. *Hist. Eccl.* l. 1. c. 11.

(*a*) L. 1. c. 23.
(*b*) L. 8. c. 19.
(*c*) *In voce* Παφνούτ.
(*d*) *Hist. Tripart.* l. 2. c. 14.
(*e*) *Panorm.* l. 3. c. 88.
(*f*) Dist. 31. cap. 12.
(*g*) *Syntagm. Alphab. lit.* γ. cap. 2.
(*h*) *Hist. Conc. Nic.* l. 2. c. 32.

(i) *De confirm. Concil Illiber.* l. 2. c, 66.

cil, since both are attested with the same Authorities. Yet is this done by many Writers of the Church of *Rome*, particularly *Barronius*, *Bellarmine*, and especially *Turrian*, whose trifling Arguments the Learned (i) *Mendosa* relates and confutes.

More general and notorious hath been the fraud of the Church of *Rome*, in pretending that the Third Canon of this Council, made against the House-Keepers, was directed against their Marriage. Of this Imposture, the Popes and Councils of the Eleventh Age made great use, never failing to back their Decrees with the Authority of the Council of *Nice*. The Canon is conceived in these words: (k) *The Great Synod hath wholly forbidden to all Bishops, Priests, Deacons, and all the Clergy, to have a House-keeper, unless she be a Mother, or a Sister, or an Aunt, or those Persons only who are liable to no Suspicion.* That wives are not hereby forbidden to the Clergy, would be impertinent to demonstrate, if the unreasonableness of our Adversaries did not require it. First then, The Authority of all the Historians last mentioned, prove this. For if the Council had by this Canon forbid Wives to the Clergy, the Advice of *Paphnutius* would not have been followed, but rejected. Secondly, We before proved that Συνείσακτοι were a sort of Women far different from Wives, who were never ranked in the number of them. Thirdly, The constant Practice of the Greek Church demonstrates it, which ever allowed to the Clergy the society of their Wives, from the Council of *Nice* to this day. Fourthly, Otherwise Marriage would have been forbidden to the Inferiour Orders also, contrary to the Practice of the Universal Church in all Ages. For the Canon after mention of Bishops, Priests and Deacons, subjoyns μήτε ὅλως τινὶ ἐν τῷ κλήρῳ, a Prohibition to every one of the Clergy. Fifthly, The Emperor *Theodosius* Junior, repeating and re-inforcing this very Canon, after a Permission of the Cohabitation

(k) Ἀπηγόρευσεν καθόλου ἡ μεγάλη σύνοδος μήτε ἐπισκόπῳ μήτε πρεσβυτέρῳ, μήτε διακόνῳ, μήτε ὅλως τινὶ τῶν ἐν τῷ κλήρῳ ἐξεῖναι Συνείσακτον ἔχειν πλὴν εἰ ἄρα μητέρα ἢ ἀδελφὴν, ἢ θείαν ἢ ἃ μόνα πρόσωπα πᾶσῃ ὑποψίαν διαπέφευγε. *Can.* 3.

habitation of Mothers, Sisters, or Aunts with the Clergy, in the very words of the Canons, subjoyns; (a) *Those also, chaste love, requireth not to be forsaken which were lawfully married before the Ordination of their Husbands: For they are not unfittingly joyned to Clergymen, who by their discreet Conversation made their Husbands worthy of the Priesthood.* And *Balsamon* thus Comments upon this Canon; (d) *Read the Canon of the* Nicene *Synod, which forbid Housekeepers to be retained. By House-keepers, the Canon, which is the Third of that Synod, meaneth Women taken into the houses of unmarried Clergymen, and dwelling with them.* Lastly, to omit the Confession of other Learned Romanists, (d) *Mendoza* not only granteth, but proveth, that in this Canon, House-keepers were forbidden only to those Clergymen, who never had married Wives, or had lost them by death.

(a) *Illas etiam non relinqui castitatis boriatur affectio, quæ ante sacerdotium maritorum legitimum meruere conjugium. Nec enim Clericis incompetenter adjunctæ sunt, quæ dignos sacerdotio vitos sui conversatione fecerunt.* Cod. Theodos. l. 16. tit. 2. lez. 44.

(c) Σωιεισάκτους ἢ λέγει ὁ κανὼν, ὅς πίτῳ ὧδε τὸ ἐρημβόης σωνόδω τὰς εἰς κατοικίας ἱερωμένων ἀσύγων συνεισερμένας ἢ κατοικούσας σὺν αὐτοῖς. *Comm. in S. Basilii Epist. ad Gregor.*

(d) *De confirm. Concil. Illib.* l. 2. c. 66.

The Determination of the Council of *Nice* settled the Matter, and put an end to the Controversie about Celibacy in the Eastern Church. Thence forward is a profound Silence in the Acts of the Eastern Synods, concerning the Marriage or Celibacy of the Clergy, till the *Quinisext* Council in the Year 692. where Bishops were forbidden the Use of Marriage, which till then was permitted to them as well as to the inferiour Clergy. Of that Council we shall speak more largely hereafter. In the mean while, the general Custom which obtained in the Eastern Church, of permitting to the Clergy the Use of Marriage contracted before, but not after Ordination, received some little variation. Three several ways, which deserve to be next observed. First then, A total abstinence of the Clergy from their Wives, was introduced into the Province of *Thessaly* by *Heliodorus*, Bishop of *Trica*, under the Reign of *Arcadius*, in the end of the Fourth, or beginning of the Fifth Age. So that the Clergy accompanying with their Wives after Ordination, were deposed. The same Custom obtained in the Provinces of *Thessalonica*, *Achaia*, and *Macedonia*, in the time of *Socrates*, in the middle of the Fifth Age, *Socrat.* l. 5. c. 22

but in no other Part of the Eastern Church, as he obesrveth. How long this Custom continued in any of these Provinces, is uncertain. Secondly, Towards the end of the Fourth Age, it became very usual for Bishops both in the Eastern and Western Church, when they were assumed to that Dignity, publickly to Vow perpetual Abstinence from their Wives. This they did *voluntarily, not necessitated to it by any Law*, as (*a*) *Socrates* observeth; that they might raise to themselves the greater Reputation of Holiness among the People, and equal the supposed Continence of unmarried Bishops. In this case, it was not permitted to them to return to the embraces of their Wives. If they did, the Fact was esteemed Scandalous, and sometimes punished with the Censures of the Church. Thus among the Seven Heads of Accusation, for which *Antoninus*, Bishop of *Ephesus*, was deposed by St. *Chrysostome* in a Synod in the Year 400. one was, (*b*) *That after he had vowed Abstinence from his Wife, he accompanied with her again, and had Children by her.* Thus *Urbicus*, Bishop of *Clermont*, in *France*, about the same time, vowing Continence at his Consecration, and afterwards begetting a Daughter of his Wife, did (*c*) voluntary Penance for it. For this reason also *Macliau*, Bishop of *Vannes*, was Excomunicated (*d*) by the Bishops of *Bretagne*, for that having, when persecuted by his Brother *Chanao*, Prince of *Bretagne*, fled to *Vannes*, and there disguising himself, professed Chastity, and afterwards made Bishop, he had upon the Death of his Brother, resumed his Wife, together with the Principality. Thirdly, which is most considerable, A Custom was afterwards introduced in the Eastern Church, whereby *It was lawful* (to use the words of (*e*) *Blastares*) *for Priests any time within Ten years, to be reckoned from their Ordination, to marry lawful Wives.* This Custom continued till the end of the Ninth Age, when it was repealed by (*f*) *Leo* the Emperor, from whose Constitution it appears that this Custom was then become Universal, although that instead of Ten years, reads Two years.

In the Western Church, the cause of Celibacy lay dormant till the end of the Fifth Age, neither countenanced nor

(*a*) Ἐι καὶ βέλοιντο, οὐ μὴν ἀνάγκη νομου. *loc. cit.*

(*b*) *Quod cum Uxori propriæ abrenunciasset, rursus cum illa congressus est, filiosque suscepit.* Pallad. in vit. Chrysost. c. 13. ex versione Ambrosii Camald.

(*c*) *Greg. Turon. Hist. Franc.* l. 1. c. 44.

(*d*) *Id.* l. 4. c. 4.

(*e*) Ἐξὴν τοῖς ἱερωμένοις ἐντὸς δεκαετίας μετὰ τὴν χειροτονίαν ψιηφιζομένης λαμβάνειν νομίμους γυναῖκας. *Syntagm. Alphab. lit.* γ. cap. 2.

(*f*) Novel 3.

nor oppoſed by any publick Conſtitutions of the Church. However, in the mean while it gained infinite Veneration in the minds of Men, and thereby made way for a publick Impoſition of it. This was attempted by Pope *Siricius*, in the Year 385. a ſimple Pope, as (*g*)St. *Hierome*, *A Man of inconſiderate Zeal*, as (*h*) *Sacchinus* the Jeſuite calls him. He in an Epiſtle to *Himerius*, Biſhop of *Tarragon*, in *Spain*, dated this Year, after a long Harrangue againſt the Clergies Uſe of Marriage, drawn from the old Miſtake of an unworthineſs to adminiſter things contracted by the ſuppoſed impurity of Marriage, commandeth (*i*) Prieſts and Deacons thence forward to abſtain from the company of their Wives, upon pain of Depoſition from their Offices. From the Preface of this Conſtitution it appears, that the Uſe of Marriage was then indifferently uſed by the Clergy, and defended as Lawful againſt the Oppugners of it. *I underſtand* (ſaith (*a*) *Siricius*) *that many Prieſts and Deacons have a long time after their Ordination, had Children, as well by their own Wives as by Fornication, and defend this their Doing by Preſcription, becauſe in the Old Teſtament Marriage was permitted to the Prieſts.* It ſeems to have been by this time become a general Cuſtom in the particular Church of *Rome*, and all the greater Churches of *Italy*, for Biſhops, Prieſts and Deacons to abſtain from the company of their Wives. This they did voluntarily, there being yet no Eccleſiaſtical Conſtitution to enforce it; and in that caſe removed their Wives out of their Families, and lived ſeparately from them. That this was voluntarily, is manifeſt as well becauſe no Command of any ſuch Abſtinence as yet made by the Church can be produced, as from ſeveral Examples of the Italian Clergy of this time, who enjoyed the company of their Wives after Ordination, as we ſhall hereafter prove. That this Cuſtom extended not into the remoter Provinces, is manifeſt from the words of St. *Ambroſe*, who writ about this time, and perſuading this total Abſtinence to his Clergy of *Milan*, ſaith, (*b*) *In many remoter places, the Clergy beget Children in the time of their Deaconſhip, or even Prieſthood, and this they defend by Ancient Cuſtom*; where the laſt words are very remarkable.

(*g*) Epiſt. 16.

(*h*) *Vir parum conſiderati zeli. Vid Paulini, par. 2. ad calcem Opp. Paul.* Anverp. 1632 p. 680.

(*i*) Epiſt. 1. cap. 7.

(*a*) *Plurimos enim ſacerdotes Chriſti atque Levitas, poſt longa conſecrationis ſuæ tempora, tam de conjugibus propriis, quam etiam de turpi coitu ſobolem didicimus procreaſſe, & crimen ſuum hac præſcriptione defendere, quia, &c.* ibid.

(*b*) *In pleriſq; abdioriibus locis cum miniſterium gererent, vel etiam ſacerdotium ſuſcepiſſent, & id tanquam uſu veteri defendant.* De Offic. l. 2. c. 50.

Siricius therefore ſeduced with the common Prejudices of that Age, and imagining it to be no ſmall Crime in the Clergy of *Spain*, not to canform to the Cuſtoms of *Rome*, interpoſed his Authority, and commanded them to do that, which he ſaw they would never perform of their own accord. The embracing of the Vulgar Prejudices about Celibacy, are not the only argument of *Siricius* his ſimplicity. This very Epiſtle carrieth other evident tokens of it along with it. For to omit the many Superſtitious Cautions about the Marriage of the Inferior Clergy, he forbids Marriage to all Perſons whatſoever, who had ever done publick Penance for Fornication. A Command which wholly evacuates the Apoſtles Precept of Marriage, making Fornication an impediment of Marriage, which by the Apoſtle was aſſigned as a remedy of it. The next year, *Siricius* writing to the Biſhops of *Africa*, purſueth the ſame deſign; but here remembring that he acted out of his own Patriarchate, he preſumeth not to command, but only adviſeth Celibacy. (*b*) *I perſuade, adviſe, admoniſh, intreat, that Prieſts and Deacons would not accompany with their Wives:* And all upon the ſame topick of the Incongruity of conjugal Embraces with the Prieſtly Office. Let us now ſee what effect this Command of *Siricius* had in *Spain*, or his Admonition in *Africk*. In *Spain*, the firſt Council of *Toledo* was held in the Year 400. which decreed, (*c*) That thoſe Deacons who had not abſtained from their Wives after Ordination, ſhould continue in their Office, but be made incapable of ever riſing to the Prieſthood; and in like manner Prieſts who had not abſtained, ſhould be incapable of the Epiſcopal Dignity; inflicting on them no further Puniſhment. The ſame Command had it ſeems been ſent by *Siricius* to the Biſhops of *Piemont*, who meeting in a Council at *Turin*. *An. Dom.* 397. made a (*a*) Canon of the ſame nature with that of *Toledo*, only debarring the Clergy, who would not ſubmit to a total Abſtinence, from aſcending to higher Dignities in the Church. In *Africa* the Pope received a Repulſe. The Eleventh Council of *Carthage* was in the year 390. wherein a motion was made by *Fauſtianus* the Popes Legat, that Biſhops, Prieſts and Deacons ſhould be enjoyned (*b*) to total Abſtinence.

Chap. 5.

(*b*) *Suademus ut ſacerdotes & levitæ cum uxoribus ſuis non codant. hortor, moneo, rogo.* Epiſt. 4.

(*c*) Can. 1.

(*a*) *Can.* 6.

(*b*) *Continentes eſſe in omnibus,* Can. 2.

ſtinence. The Synod would not yeild to that, but only decreed, (c) *That Biſhops, Prieſts and Deacons, or thoſe, who adminiſtred the Sacraments, ſhould always preſerve Chaſtity, and when they miniſtred at the Altar, even abſtain from their Wives.* For that the Antients believed Chaſtity not to be inconſiſtent with the uſe of Marriage, we before proved. And this partial Abſtinence of the Clergy in the time of their waiting at the Altar, fully ſatisfied *Siricius* his Argument, which proceeded upon the indecency of performing the Duties of Marriage and the Adminiſtration of Holy Things, at the ſame time. That this is the trne ſenſe of the Canon, we ſhall demonſtrate by proving that the Canon, which we ſhall next relate, meant no more. For that both are to be underſtood in the ſame ſenſe, all agree. In the year therefore 398. was held the Fifth Council of *Carthage*, which made this following Canon (d) *Be it enacted, That Biſhops, Prieſts and Deacons abſtain even from their Wives in their own courſes. Which if they do not, let them be depoſed. But that the reſt of the Clergy be not compelled to do this, but the cuſtoms of every particular Church are to be obſerved.* *Bellarmin*, *Binius*, and other Writers of the Church of *Rome* maintain that a total Abſtinence is here enjoyned to the Clergy, contrary to the plain ſenſe of the Canon. For this they alledge only the Authority of St. *Auſtin*, (e) and tht Decree of *Gratian*, which inſtead of *Secundum propria ſtatuta* (wherein the ſtreſs of the Canon lieth) reads *Secundnm priora Statuta, according to former Conſtitutions.* As for the Authority of (f) *Gratian*, that is of no Moment, when oppoſed to the conſtant Agreement of all the Latin Copies of the Acts of this Council. Nor even can we be aſſured that *Gratian*'s Copy read it *Secundum priora Statuta*, ſince it is very uſual with him to repreſent the Antient Monuments of the Church, not exactly in their own Words, but accommodated to the Sentiments and Practice of his own time. As for St. *Auſtin*, his

(c) *Ut Epiſcopi, Presby. & Diac. vel qui Sacramenta contrectant, pudicitiæ cuſtodes, etiam ab uxoribus ſe abſtineant, ut in omnibus & ab omnibus pudicitia cuſtodiatur, qui altari deſerviunt.* Can. 2. ex edit. Holſten.

(d) *Placuit Epiſcopos Presb. & Diac. ſecundum propria ſtatuta etiam ab uxoribus continere. Quod niſi fecerint, ab Eccleſiaſtico removeantur officio. Cæteros autem Clericos ad hoc non cogi, ſed ſecundum unius cujuſque Eccleſiæ conſuetudinem obſervari debere.* Can. 3.

(e) De Adult. conjug. l. 2. c. 20.

(f) Diſt. 32. cap. 13.

his Authority indeed would be sufficient; for he was present in the Council: but he saith nothing of it in the place alledged, only proposeth to the Laity, who hardly endured to be restrained to the Embraces of one Woman, the Example of the Clergy, who practised a total Astinence. For this infers no more than that some or many of the Clergy did totally abstain; which none denieth, and we readily grant. The confutation of our Adversaries Reasons were sufficient in this case. However, I will produce some further Reasons in confirmation of that sense of the Canon, which we follow, and the words do naturally import. First then, The Antient Greek Code (a) of the Canons of the *African* Church compsosed before the time of the Sixth Council, followeth this sense, translating the Words into Question, by *κατὰ τοὺς ἰδίους ὁροῦς*, *in their proper courses, or times of waiting*. Secondly, the Fathers of the *Quinisext* Council commanding Priests and Deacons wholly to contain (b) *in the time of the Administration of Holy Things*, profess they herein follow and ratifie this Canon of the Council of *Cartharge*. And that they did not mistake or misrepresent the sense of it, appears from the Subscriptions of *Peter*, Patriarch of *Alexandria*, and his *African* Bishops, to the Acts of the *Quinisext* Council; which they would never have done, had they been conscious, that the Canons of their own Church were therein falsified and misrepresented. Lastly, *Balsamon* (c), *Zonaras* (c), *Aristenus* (c), and *Blastares* do thus unanimously explain it only of a partial Abstinence of the Clergy from their Wives, when they celebrate the greatest Festivals and Solemnities of the Church. I will produce only the words of *Blastares* (d). *When the time calls them to the Administration of Holy Things, and participation of the Sacraments; then ought they to abstain even from the company of their own Wives, manifesting their continence by their Works. But the fourth Canon of this Code* (which is the second of the Eleventh Council of *Carthage* beforementioned) *and others like it being obscurely worded, and Commanding the Clergy, administring Holy Things, to abstain from their Wives, gave occasion to the Latins*

(a) Can. 70.

(b) Ἐν τῷ καιρῷ τῆς τῶν ἁγίων μεταχειρήσεως. *Can.* 13.

(c) Annot. in Can.

(d) Τοῦ καιροῦ καθεῦντος αὐτοὺς πρὸς τὴν τῶν θείων μεταχείρησιν τῆς καὶ μετάληψιν μυστηρίων, ἔργω τὰ τῆς σωφροσύνης δεικνῦναι ὀφείλοντας καὶ τῆς τῶν ἰδίων γυναικῶν ὁμιλίας ἀπέχεσθαι χρὴ, ὅγε μὲν τέταρτος ταύτης, &c. *Syntagm. Alphab. lit.* γ. cap. 18.

tins to require thoſe, who are to be ordained, to put away their Wives. Or if we ſhould grant that this is the ſenſe or theſe Canons; themſelves would be more worthy to be put out of the number of Sacred Canons, than the Apoſtolick Canons of thoſe of other Councils, which decreed the direct contrary to them, if they be taken in the ſenſe of the Latins.

In the end of this Age, *Helvidius* and *Jovinian*, in the beginning of the next *Vigilantius* appeared in defence of Marriage, againſt the exorbitant pretention of Celibacy. What their particular Opinions were, is not well known; nor may we ſafely believe St. *Hierom*, their profeſſed Adverſary, in repreſenting of them; ſince all the World knows how much he hath miſrepreſented *Ruffinus*. However, certain it is all of them were guilty of ſome Errours. *Hilvidius* thought the V. *Mary* to have had ſeveral Children by her Husband *Joſeph*, after the Birth of Jeſus; *Jovinian* (*e*) maintained the equality of all ſins, & impeccability of regenerate perſons. *Vigilantius* believed it convenient for the preſent State of the Church, which received great prejudice from the incontinence of the unmarried Clergy, that none ſhould be admitted into Orders which were not married; that ſo all danger of future ſcandal might be prevented. All theſe we willingly grant to have been Errours, but not Hereſies. The firſt might be owing to a miſtake of Hiſtory, the laſt of Policy; and the ſecond indeed was notoriouſly falſe, but far from the Contagion of Hereſie. As for their common Opinion about Marriage, it ſeems to have been no more than this, that the intrinſick merits of Marriage and Celibacy were both equal; which however branded with the name of Hereſie by St. *Hierom*, is a moſt certain Truth. If they believed the accidental Merits of both to be equal, which it can be never proved that they did; this indeed was a miſtake (for Perſons, who have the gift of Continence, may do greater ſervice to God and the Church, in an unmarried, than in a married State) but a miſtake that neither injured Faith, nor was repugnant to Revelation. Indeed *Jovinian* had a peculiar Errour of a groſſer nature, that the violation of a Vow of Continence was a thing indifferent, even in thoſe who could contain. For we willingly allow, that when a Vow of Continence can without any great difficulty or danger be preſerved, it ought in no caſe to be violated. However, that any of them

(*e*) Auguſt. de Hæreſ cap. 82.

them were formal Hereticks, can by no means be proved. Rather it is most certain, that *Vigilantius*, not only drew several Catholick Bishops into the same Opinion with himself, who thereupon conferred Orders to none but married Men, but that he lived and died in the Communion of the Catholick Church. St. *Hierom* indeed loadeth them all with the most opprobious names, and termeth them the worst of Hereticks: but his Prejudice and Passion is too well known to be herein trusted.

Hierom. adv. Vigil in init.

Non ordinant Diaconos, nisi prius uxores duxerint nulli celibi credentes pudicitiam.

In opposition to these Men, St. *Hierom* writ several Tracts; which in truth are so many Panegyricks of Celicy, and invectives against Marriage: Here he adopts and reinforceth all the prejudices and mistakes of the former and present Age: particularly so far urged the supposed Impurity of Marriage, that he asserts it to be a Sin, and excludes married Persons from all hopes of Salvation; as we before proved by producing several places, to which might be added many more. This was an Errour far greater than any of those which he opposed; and which, if dogmatically proposed, and pertinaciously maintained, would be downright Heresie. But we charitably suppose, those harsh expressions were rather the effects of his Passion, than the products of his Judgment. And if he hath exceeded all bounds and limits of Reason in depressing Marriage, no less hath he in exalting Celibacy. This himself acknowledgeth, when upon a review of his Book against *Helvidius*, he confesseth (*a*) he plaid the Oratour too much, and extended his Rhetorick beyond the bounds of severe Truth. This his Errours about Marriage, and proceeding upon false prejudices, may justly invalidate St. *Hieroms* Authority in the case of Celibacy, which yet he no where saith is necessary for the Clergy, but only highly convenient and decorous to the dignity and holiness of their Order. It may be some further Diminution to his Authority in this case, that all these extravagant Encomiums of Virginity seem to have proceeded only from an immoderate desire of repairing thereby his injured Reputation, and the honour of his Name suffering under unjust suspicions of too great familiarity with the Lady *Paula*; which had proceeded so far, and taken such deep root in the Minds of the Romans, that he was forced to leave *Rome* in disgrace; when he was designed by all men to succeed *Damasus* in the Popedom.

(*a*) *Rhetoricati sumus, & in morem declamatorum Paululum lusimus. Adv.* Hilvid. *in fine.*

Upon

Upon Occasion of St. *Hierom*, I will here say somewhat of *Epiphanius*, who alone, besides him, of all the Writers of this time, seems fond of the Celibacy of the Clergy: Although he not only alloweth, but even adviseth Marriage to them in case of insuperable Incontinence. His great Affection and Veneration of St. *Hierom* made him ready to receive whatsoever was proposed by him: And then his weak Judgment enabled him not to discover the Sophistry and Mistakes of his Reasoning. Of the Imbecillity of his Judgment *Photius* (*a*) long since observed, That in his great Work against Heresies, he had done Injury to Truth, by a weak Defence of it.

(*a*) Ἀσθενὴς ἐκ τοῦ ἐπὶ πλεῖστον ἐν τῇ κατὰ τῶν δυσσεβῶν αἱρέσεων συμπλοκαῖς. *Cod.* 122.

In the beginning of the Fifth Age Pope *Innocent* I. renewed and confirmed the Constitutions of his Predecessour *Siricius*, in Two Epistles, one (*a*) to *Victricius*, Bishop of *Roan*, written in the Year 404. the other (*b*) to *Exuperius*, Bishop of *Tholouse*, in the Year following. In both he alledgeth and enforceth only the old Argument of the Impurity of Marriage, which made it incompatible with the daily Administration of Holy Things performed by the Clergy. He commandeth Priests and Deacons (for Subdeacons he mentions not) who abstained not from their Wives in Obedience to the Constitution of *Siricius*, to be deposed; except perhaps they had been ignorant of the Constitution. For in that case he would only have them obliged to Continence for the future. That these, and indeed all the first Twenty Six Epistles of this Pope are spurious, many learned Men have endeavoured to prove with many Arguments. But I will not insist on that. It is not improbable that he made such a Decree. Celibacy was then fitted to the Genius of the Age, and particularly of the See of *Rome*. After *Innocent*, Pope *Leo* I. carried on the Design yet further, and in an Epistle (*c*) to *Anastasius* Bishop of *Thessalonica*, forbid the use of Marriage to Subdeacons also, thereby perfecting the System of Celibacy at this Day used in the Church of *Rome*. The same

(*a*) Epist. 2. cap. 9.
(*b*) Epist. 3. cap. 1.
(*c*) Epist. 84. cap. 4.

Constitution he re-inforced in an Epistle (*d*) to *Rusticus* Bishop of *Narbon*, prescribing the same Law of Continence to the Ministers of the Altar (*viz.* Deacons and Subdeacons) as to Bishops and Priests.

(*d*) Epist. 92. cap. 3. *Lex continentiæ eadem est Ministris Altaris, quæ Episcopis atque Presbyteris.*

These were the Decrees of the Popes of *Rome*, which were oft-times renewed, and sometimes relaxed by the following Popes. As for the Western Councils of this, and the following Ages, they were all Provincial, and pretended to no Authority out of their own Provinces. The Council of *Orange* was the first, which ever imposed total Abstinence upon the Clergy. It was a Convention of no more than Seventeen Bishops, in the Year 441. who then made this Canon. (*a*) *If any one after he hath received Deacons Orders, be found incontinent with his Wife; Let him be deposed from his Office.* Providing in the following Canon, that this Punishment extend not to those, who had retained the use of their Wives before this Canon was made. Whence it may be gathered, that total Abstinence was not yet enjoyned to the Clergy of the *Gallican Church* by any Publick Authority, and that the Decrees of Pope *Innocent*, directed to the Bishops of *Rouen* and *Tholouse*, as acting out of his own Patriarchat, had not been received. The Second Council of *Arles*, in the Year 452. comes next, which in the Second Canon forbids any married Man to be ordained Priest, who doth not vow Continence; in the Forty Third Canon extends the same to Deacons; in the Forty Fourth Canon forbids to Deacons the use of Marriage in the Words of the Council of *Orange*; in the Third Canon, forbids Bishops, Priests and Deacons to keep their VVives with them in the same House, unless they also have vowed Continence, upon pain of Excommunication. This Punishment was thought too great, and was therefore moderated by the First Council of *Tours*, *A.D.* 461. who enjoyning (*b*) total Abstinence from their VVives to Priests and Deacons, enact (*c*) withal, That if any Priest or Deacon use the Company of his VVife, he

(*a*) *Si quis post acceptam benedictionem levitisam cum uxore sua incontinens inveniatur, ab officio abjiciatur*, Can. 23.

(*b*) Can. 1.

(*c*) Can. 2.

he

be not excommunicated, but only reduced to Lay-Communion. In the year 506. the Council of *Agatha* received (*d*) and confirmed the Conſtitutions of *Siricius* and *Innocent* about the Continence of Prieſts and Deacons; and further enjoyn (*e*) that their VVives be not permitted to dwell with them, although they alſo promiſe Continence.

(*d*) Can. 9.

(*e*) Can. 10. 16

* In the year 531. the Second Council of *Toledo* decreed (*f*) That thoſe who from their Childhood were by their Parents dedicated to the Holy Office, and were to that end brought up at the Charge of the Church, ſhould, when they came to the Age of Eighteen, be asked publickly by the Biſhop in the face of the Church, VVhether they were willing to oblige themſelves never to marry. If they were, then they might be ordained Subdeacons, and gradually ariſe to the higher Offices of the Church. If not, then they might have leave to marry; and whenſoever both married Parties ſhould promiſe Continence, the Husband ſhould be received into Orders. Here is the firſt mention of a Vow of Continence exacted of thoſe that were to be ordained, that can be found in Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory. And here alſo it was firſt forbidden to Subdeacons to marry VVives after their Ordination, (for this concerned not thoſe Subdeacons who married before Ordination) whereas in all the precedent Councils it was left free to Subdeacons, as well as to the other inferiour Orders, to enjoy their Wives married either before or after their Ordination to that Office. The Council of *Clermont*, *Anno* 535. complaining (*g*) that many Prieſts and Deacons, notwithſtanding the Prohibition of the Church, had uſed the Company of their Wives, and begotten Children of them, commands all ſuch to be degraded from their Office. The Fourth Council of *Orleans*, in the year 541. ordered (*a*) That Prieſts and Deacons ſhould not be permitted to dwell with their Wives, upon pain of Depoſition, thereby to take away ever all ſuſpicion of forbidden Commerce. The Third Council of *Orleans* had before, in the year 538. forbid (*b*) the uſe of Marriage not only to Prieſts and Deacons, but alſo to Subdeacons. The Fifth Council of *Orleans* * commands (*c*) all Clergy-men, of whatſoever Dignity or Order,

* *The like did the Council of* Girona *ordain in the year* 517.

(*f*) Can. 1.

(*g*) Can. 13.

(*a*) Can. 17.

(*b*) Can. 2.

* A. D. 549.

(*c*) Can. 4. *Cujuſlibet loci vel ordinis.*

der, who return to the Embraces of their Wives after Ordination, to be for ever degraded, and reduced to Lay-Communion. The Council of *Auxerre*, in the year 578. enjoyn (*d*) Priests, Deacons, and Subdeacons, upon pain of Deprivation, not to accompany with their Wives, calling that a carnal Sin. The First Council of *Mascon*, in the year 581. repeat (*e*) and renew the Canon of the Council of *Clermont*. The Third Council of *Lyons*, in the year 583. forbids (*f*) the use of Marriage to Bishops, Priests, Deacons and Subdeacons, and the cohabitation of their Wives, to the three first Orders. In a French Council, about the year 620. all Marriage and cohabitation of Women was forbidden (*g*) to Priests and Deacons. In the Fourth Council of *Toledo*, *Anno* 633. it was ordered (*h*) That Priests and Deacons should promise Continence before their Bishop, when they were inducted into their Livings and Preferments. The Eighth Council of *Toledo*, in the year 653. laments (*i*) the Obstinacy of many Priests and Deacons, retaining their Wives, and even marrying after Ordination, against the Canons of the Church; and severely forbids it for the future. In the year 868. the Council of *Worms* commanded (*k*) Bishops, Priests, Deacons, and Subdeacons, to abstain from their Wives, upon pain of Deprivation. Many other Councils between the year 600. and a 1000. forbid the Cohabitation of all Women, and consequently also of VVives, to the Clergy: And many others permit only Mothers, Sisters, and Aunts to dwell with the Clergy, rejecting all other VVomen under the Name of *Extraneæ*; wherein they seem to have mistaken the meaning of the Third Canon of the Council of *Nice*. Lastly, some Councils proceeded so far, as to inhibit to the Clergy the Cohabitation of all VVomen whatsoever, even Mothers, Sisters, Aunts, and the nearest Relations, permitted by the Council of *Nice*. Thus did the Council of *Mentz* (*l*) in the year 888. observing that some Priests had committed Incest with their own Sisters, (see the effects of enforced Celibacy:) And the Council of *Metz*, (*m*) in the same year, upon the same Account. The next year *Riculfus* Bishop of *Soissons* published.

(*d*) Can. 20. 21

(*e*) Can. 11.

(*f*) Can. 1.

(*g*) Can. 8. 12. Concil. Tom. V. p. 1656.

(*h*) Can. 27.

(*i*) Can. 5, 6.

(*k*) Can. 9.

(*l*) Can. 10.

(*m*) Can. 5.

publiſhed his Conſtitutions, (*n*) wherein (*o*) he not only renewed the Canon of theſe Two laſt Councils, but alſo forbid the Clergy to talk with VVomen in private, or even ſpeak to them without ſome VVitneſs ſtanding by.

(*n*) Concil Tom. IX. p. 416.
(*o*) Cap. 14.

Theſe were the Progreſſes and Gradations of Celibacy in the VVeſtern Church from the Council of *Nice* to the times of *Hildebrand*. Propoſed it was by ſome Doctors of great Authority, enforced by Popes, and enjoyned by Councils; yet could not all theſe Authorities effectually recommend to the Practice of the Clergy a Doctrine ſo contrary to the firſt Notions of Reaſon, and common Inclinations of Mankind. The frequent and continual Repetition and renewing of Decrees and Canons to the eſtabliſhment of it, argue the univerſal Oppoſition which it met with in the World, every later Decree manifeſting that the former was unſucceſsful. And indeed moſt of theſe Conſtitutions are uſhered in with a Preface of the Obſtinacy of the Clergy in retaining their VVives, againſt the expreſs Prohibitions of the Church. All the aforementioned Councils were Provincial; and Popes had not yet claimed the Government of the whole Church. So that all theſe Decrees affected not the Eaſtern Church at all; nor thoſe Parts even of the VVeſtern Church, which were neither ſubject to the Roman Patriarchat, nor the Juriſdiction of the particular Councils. And even in thoſe Churches which were then ſubject to either of them, the Laws of Celibacy were never univerſally receiv'd and obeyed; and at laſt ſo far neglected and grown obſolete, that in the beginning of the Eleventh Age, Marriage of the Clergy was as freely uſed, and as generally practiſed in moſt parts of the VVeſtern Church, as it is at this day in the Reformed Churches. This I come next to prove; where I might juſtly have omitted to ſpeak of the Eaſtern Church, if our Adverſaries did not pretend an univerſal Practice of Celibacy in the Eaſtern as well as Weſtern Church, till the time of the *Quinſext Council*. The Refutation of this Pretence will neceſſitate us to ſpeak in general of the Practice and Diſcipline of the antient univerſal Church in the caſe of Celibacy.

And

And first to take away all Prejudice, which may possess the Reader, that it is impossible, at least improbable, that a Custom, persuaded by many Doctors, commanded by Popes and Councils successively in several Ages, and which divers of the Fathers affirm to have been universally practised in their time, should never be generally used by the Clergy. I will produce an Example of a matter of Discipline of far less moment, which was urged and enjoyned with greater Advantages and Authorities, and the universal Practice of it attested by more VVriters; which yet after all never generally obtained in the Church, and was indeed disused in all Ages. I mean the case of *Bigamists*, who by an early custom of the Church, begun before the end of the Second Century, were excluded from the Clergy. This Exclusion is commanded by the Apostolick Canons, (*a*) by the Apostolick Constitutions, (*b*) by St. *Basil*'s Canonical Epistle (*c*) to *Amphilochius*, by the Councils of *Valence*, (*d*) *Agatha*, (*e*) Fourth of *Arles*, (*f*) Third of *Constantinople*, (*g*) of *Rome* (*h*) under Pope *Hilarus*, of *Aquisgran*, (*i*) and infinite others; by the Popes *Siricius*, (*k*) *Innocent*, (*l*) *Leo*, (*m*) *Gelasius*, (*n*), and *Gregory*, (*o*) *Tertullian*, (*p*) saith, *The Ordination of* Bigamists *is forbidden by Apostolical Tradition, and the Discipline of the Church.* *Origen* (*q*) affirmeth, that in his time *Bishops*, *Priests*, *and Deacons*, *could not be Bigamists*. St. *Ambrose* asserts (*r*) this Prohibition to have been *confirmed by the Council of* Nice. Pope *Innocent* (*s*) saith, *No question ought to be made of it, it being manifestly of Divine Institution.* Pope *Leo*, (*t*) That *this Precept was ever held sacred, and* (u) *that neither Law nor Gospel will permit such to be admitted into the Clergy.* *Epiphanius*, (*x*) *In truth, the holy Command of God, after the coming of Christ, receives not into the Clergy those, who after the death of their first Wife, contract a second Marriage.* St. *Hierom*, (*y*) *A* Bigamist *cannot be chosen into the Clergy*, and (*z*) *A Layman is not chosen into the Clergy, if he be a* Bigamist. St. *Augustin*, (*a*) *It is not lawful to ordain any but the Husbands of one Wife.* *Hilary* the Deacon, (*b*) *No* Bigamist *is ordained.* And by all the same Authorities, he who hath kept a Concubine, is made uncapable of the Clergy.

(*a*) Can. 16.
(*b*) l. 6. c. 17.
(*c*) Can. 12.
(*d*) Can. 1.
(*e*) Can. 1.
(*f*) Can. 3.
(*g*) Can. 3.
(*h*) Can. 2.
(*i*) Can. 9.
(*k*) Epist. 1.
(*l*) Ep. 2. c. 5.
(*m*) Ep. 87. c. 1
(*n*) Ep. 9. c. 22.
(*o*) l. 2. Ep. 25.
(*p*) ad uxor. l. 1. c. 7.
(*q*) Hom. 17. in Luc.
(*r*) Epist. 82. ad Vercell.
(*s*) Ep. 4. c. 2.
(*t*) Ep. 84. c. 4.
(*u*) Ep. 87. c. 1.
(*x*) Hæres. 59. c. 4.
(*y*) Adv. Jovin. l. 1.
(*z*) Epist. ad Geront. de Monog.
(*a*) De bono conjug. ca. 18.
(*b*) Com. in 1 Tim. 3. 12.

After

After so many and so great Authorities, the common Tradition of both Churches, Command of General Councils, and Belief of Divine Institution (all which Advantages the Celibacy of the Clergy wanted) who can imagin any otherwise, than that this point of Discipline was universally received and practised without exception or limitation? yet nothing less. *Tertullian* objects this to the Catholicks, as a main argument of his Separation and Departure to the *Montanists*, that they admitted *Bigamists* even to the Episcopal Dignity. *Among you*, saith he, (c) *how many* Bigamists *preside?* And when *Theodoret* ordained Count *Irenæus*, a *Bigamist*, then in Disfavour at Court, Bishop of *Tyre*, and his Enemies, laid hold of that pretence to accuse him of the Violation of the Canons; he defends (d) himself by *the Authority of all the Bishops of* Phœnicia, who gave their Suffrage to the Ordination; *by the Example and Tradition of his Predecessours*; by the Examples of *Alexander* Patriarch of *Antioch*, and *Praylius* of *Hierusalem*, who had ordained Bishops; *Diogenes* and *Domninus*, both *Digamists*; that he followed herein *custom and famous Men, celebrated for their Knowledge and Piety*; and that *Proclus*, Patriarch of *Constantinople*, the Metropolitans of *Pontus*, and all the Bishops of *Palestine*, had not only allowed, but also commended this Ordination; *and not the least doubt made of the lawfulness of it.* Lastly, St. *Augustin* was ordained Bishop of *Hippo* by the common Consent of all the Bishops of *Africa*, who had far exceeded (a) the supposed Scandal of Digamy, by an open Cohabitation of two Concubines successively. And, which deserved the first place, St. *Hierom* answering the doubt of *Oceanus*, whether *Carterius*, a Digamist, were Canonically ordained Bishop, saith, (b) *I wonder you produced the example of no more than one, whenas the whole World is full of these*

(c) *Quot enim & Bigami præsident apud vos?* De Monog. ca. 12.

(d) Ψήφῳ τῶν τῆς φοινίκης ἐπισκόπων πεισθεὶς, — τοῖς πρὸ ἡμῶν ἠκολουθήσαμεν, — ἔθει τοίνυν ἠκολουθήσαμεν, καὶ ἀνδράσιν ἐπισήμοις, καὶ ἐπὶ γνώσει καὶ βίῳ πολυθρυλλήτοις, καὶ οὐδεμία ἀμφιβολία περὶ τούτου γεγένηται. *Epist.* 110. *ad Domnum.*

(a) *Confess.* l. 6. c. 15.

(b) *Miror autem te unum protraxisse in medium cum omnis mundus his ordinationibus plenus sit, non dico de Presbyteris, non de inferiori gradu. Ad Episcopos venio, quos si sigillatim voluero nominare, tantus numerus congregabitur, ut Ariminensis Synodi multitudo superetur.* Epist. ad Ocean.

Ordi-

Ordinations. I speak not of Priests, nor of the inferiour Orders, I come to Bishops, whom, if I should name singly, so great a number would arise, that the multitude of the Synod of Ariminum (the most numerous Council which had been then held) *would be exceeded.*

That the Laws of Celibacy were no less disobeyed, and all the antient Testimonies of the universal Practice of it, are no less wide mistakes, I come next to prove; and will begin with the Eastern Church. St. *Athanasius*, not long after the Council of *Nice*, writing to *Dracontius*, a Holy Monk, rebukes him for declining the Episcopal Office, and refutes the Reasons of his Refusal, the chief of which was, That in the Episcopal Dignity he could not live so retiredly, as he desired, but must be forced to lead a secular kind of Life. In answer to this, *Athanasius* shews him, that as to that, nothing can be performed in the one State, which may not in the other; and that when a Bishop, he may as well use the retiredness of a Monk, as many Monks do the usual Freedom of a Bishop; and produceth this Instance, (c) *For many Bishops have not married at all, and many Monks have been Fathers of Children. As we have known Bishops Fathers of Children, and Monks having no Posterity. For both are alike lawful to each* Order, *neither the one nor the other is forbidden to them.* A more express Passage than this cannot be conceived, where he affirms many Bishops to have gotten Children after their Consecration, and by the Instance insinuates, That this was very usual with the Bishops of that time. That this Procreation of Children was performed by them while Bishops, not before, is most evident; since otherwise the Instance of *Athanasius* would have been highly impertinent. For *Dracontius*, in declining the Episcopal Dignity, did not dread the Life of Bishops, before they were made Bishops, that being the State wherein himself then was, and desired to continue, but the supposed incumbrances of a Bishop's Life, after he was made Bishop.

(c) Πολλοὶ δὲ τῶν Ἐπισκόπων οὐδὲ γεγαμήκασι, μοναχοὶ δὲ πατέρες τέκνων γεγόνασιν, ὥσπερ καὶ ἐπισκόπους πατέρας τέκνων οἴδαμεν, καὶ μοναχοὺς ἐξ ὁλοκλήρου γένους οὐ τυγχάνοντας, — ἔξεστι γὰρ καὶ οὕτως καὶ ἐκείνως οὐ κωλύεται. *Prope fin.*

In

In the year 357. the Emperor *Constantius* made a Law, (*a*) That *all Clergymen should enjoy this Priviledge, that their Wives and Children, and Servants of both Sexes, and their Children also*, (that is, the whole Family of Clergymen) *should be always exempt Tribute, and all publick Burdens.* There are three or four other Laws in the *Theodosian Code*, made in favour of the Wives and Children of the Clergy, which it is not here necessary to repeat. About the year 375. some Superstitious Christians had conceived so great a Veneration of Celibacy, that they despised the Married Clergy, and would rather defer Baptism for many years together, than be baptized by Bishops and Priests who abstained not from their Wives. These St. *Gregory Nazianzen* sharply rebukes, *Say not*, saith he, (*b*) *a Bishop shall baptize me, or if a Presbyter, at least one of those who are unmarried, and one of those that profess Continence, and thereby imitate the Life of Angels.* Hence it is manifest, that many Presbyters abstained not from their Wives; for this was the occasion of those foolish Christians Scrupilosity, supposing some impurity to be in the use of Marriage. Had the married Priests renounced the company of their Wives, they had been no less continent than the unmarried ones. And therefore it was not simply their Marriage, but their use of it, which those Persons disliked.

(*a*) *Omnibus Clericis hujusmodi prærogativa succurrat, ut conjugia clericorum, ac liberi, &c.* Cod. Theodos. lib. 16. tit. 2. l. 14.

(*b*) Μὴ εἴπῃς, ἐπίσκοπος βαπτισάτω με, — ἢ πρεσβύτερός μ', ἀλλὰ καὶ οὗτος τῶν ἀγάμων, καὶ οὗτος τῶν ἐγκρατῶν καὶ ἀγγελικῶν τὴν πολιτείαν. *Orat.* XL. *in Baptisma* cap. 25.

About the same time *Epiphanius* writ his *Panarium*, wherein opposing the Chastity and Continence of the Catholick Clergy to the Heretick, call'd *Apostolici*, saith, that Continence even from their own Wives was universally observed by them; but then is forced to qualifie his Boast with this Clause, (*c*) *This is done chiefly where the Ecclesiastical*

(*c*) Μάλιστα ὅπου ἀκριβεῖς οἱ κανόνες οἱ ἐκκλησιαστικοί. Ἀλλὰ πάντως ἐρεῖς μοὶ ἐν τισὶ τόποις ἔτι τεκνογονεῖν Πρεσβυτέρους καὶ Διακ. καὶ Ὑποδιακ. τοῦτο οὐ παρὰ τὴν κανόνα, ἀλλὰ παρὰ τὴν τῶν ἀνθρώπων κατὰ καιρὸν ῥαθυμήσαντες διάνοιαν, καὶ τοῦ πλήθους ἕνεκεν μὴ εὐρισκομένης ὑπερηφίας. *Heres.* 59. cap. 4.

Canons (or rather Customs, for no such Canons were yet made) *are accurate. But you will certainly say to me, that in some places Priests, Deacons and Subdeacons do yet beget Children. This is done not according to the Canon* (or Rule of utmost Perfection) *but by the negligence of Men increasing with time, and by reason of the multitude of the Clergy, there being not found a sufficient number of continent Persons.* Here it may be observed that this Custom of voluntary Continence was not introduced in some places; that where it was introduced, it obtained not universally, which may be gathered from the word *chiefly*; and lastly, that even there it was a Novel Introduction. For speaking of those Clergy, who did not abstain, he saith, *they yet beget Children:* But after all, we are not to rely much upon his Testimony even in a matter of Fact. The good Man, who was far from an accurate Writer, seemeth to have taken his Measures wholly from his Native Country of *Palestine*, wherein he was very much conversant, even after he was Bishop, which Province was at that time filled with Monks and Monkish Clergy, who flocked thither out of reverence to the Holy Places. The Author indeed of the Homilies upon *Job*, amongst St. *Chrysostom*'s Works, testifies (*a*) that in his time the use of Marriage was forbidden to Bishops; and therefore *Bellarmin* fails not to make use of his Authority. But first this concerns not the inferiour Clergy, and then these Homilies belong not to St. *Chrysostom* in the Judgment both of *Fronto Ducæus*, and Sir *H. Savil*; but seem to have been written after the *Quinisext* Council; when Continence was first imposed upon the Bishops in the Greek Church.

(*a*) Hom. 11. prope fin.

In the middle of the Fifth Age, *Socrates* the Historian writ, who observeth it as a peculiar Custom of *Thessalia*, *Macedonia*, and *Achaia*, that the Clergy there abstained from their Wives, therein dissenting from the Custom of the rest of the Eastern Church, saith indeed, that many abstained from the use of Marriage in other parts

parts of the East, but that (*b*) *All who did this, did it of their own accord, even Bishops doing it only voluntarily, not necessitated to it by any Canon. For many of them in the time of their Bishoprick have begotten Children of their lawful Wives.* So plain a passage needs no Comment. In a few Ages this voluntary Abstinence of Bishops became universal in most Provinces of the East: although the Bishops of *Africk*, *Libia*, and some other places retained, as formerly, the use of Marriage. Therefore in the end of the Seventh Age the *Quinisext* Council took advantage from this voluntary Abstinence to impose a necessary Abstinence upon all Bishops; and obliged the Bishops of *Africa* herein to conform themselves to the general Custom. They inflicted no Censure upon the *African Bishops* for retaining the Company of their Wives, nor so much as blame them; but rather term them (*d*) *most religious Bishops*, and profess they impose Abstinence upon them only (*e*) *for the better Edification of the People.*

(*b*) Τῶν ἐν ἀνατολῇ πάντων γνάμῃ ἀπεχομένων καὶ τῶν ἐπισκόπων, εἰ καὶ βούλοιντο οὐ μὴν ἀνάγκῃ νόμου τοῦτο ποιοῦντων, πολλοὶ γὰρ αὐτῶν ἐν τῷ καιρῷ τῆς ἐπισκοπῆς καὶ παῖδας ἐκ τῆς νομίμου γυναικὸς πεποιήκασιν. *Hist. Eccl.* l. 5. c. 22.

(*c*) Can. 12.

(*d*) Οἱ τῶν ἐκεῖσε θεοφιλέστατοι πρόεδροι.

(*e*) Τῆς προκοπῆς τῆς ἐπὶ τῶν κρείττον τῶν λαῶν προμηθούμενοι.

Till that Council the Bishops of the East freely enjoyed the use of Marriag. This we have prov'd by the preceeding Testimonies, and may be further evinced by the Authority of *Balsamon*, the greatest Canonist of the Eastern Church, whose words are these, (*f*) *Before the Sixth Synod held in* Trullo, *it was lawful for Bishops to have Wives, even after their Consecration, as well as Priests and Deacons, who are ordained after Marriage.* So that *Eutychius*, (*g*) Patriarch of *Alexandria*, is grosly mistaken, when he terminates the Marriage of Bishops at the times of the Council of *Nice*, if he doth not rather mean that till then they all retained their Wives; but after that time they

(*f*) Πρὸ τῆς ϛ΄. συνόδου τῆς ἐν τρούλλῳ γενομένης ἐξῆν τοῖς ἐπισκόποις ἔχειν γυναῖκας, καὶ μετὰ τὸ ἐπισκοπικὸν ἀξίωμα, ὥσπερ ἔχουσιν αὐτὰς καὶ οἱ μετὰ τὸν γάμον χειροτονούμενοι ἱερεῖς ἢ διάκονοι. *Comm. in Can.* 5. *Apost.*

(*g*) *Annal. Alex.* l. 1.

they began a voluntary Abstinence; which sense indeed his words do more naturally import. As for the Marriage of the inferiour Clergy, that was so commonly used at that time in the Eastern Church, that in *Armenia* they had taken up a custom of admitting none into the Clergy, but the Sons of the Clergy. This was indeed a great Abuse, and worthy of redress; which was therefore abolished by the *Quinisext* Council, (*a*) as coming too near to Jewish Superstition.

(*a*) Can. 33.

From general Testimonies I pass to particular Instances and Examples of the Marriage of the Eastern Clergy after the Council of *Nice*. In that Council was present *Spyridon*, Bishop of *Trymithus* in *Cyprus*, celebrated by all the Writers of those times, for his Holiness, Miracles, and Gift of Prophecy. Of him *Sozomen* saith, (*b*) *He had Wife and Children, and yet was not thereby in the least hindred or rendred less fit and successful in the Administration of holy things.* This Note plainly intimates, that he used the company of his Wife, while Bishop: Otherwise the Observation would have been trifling; since a married Bishop not using his Marriage, is in the same condition with an unmarried one. Presently after the Council of *Nice*, *Gregory* was made Bishop of *Nazianzum*. He had married a Wife a little before, by whose means he was converted to the Catholick Faith, and who lived with him to an extream old Age; for they were both present at the Funeral of their Son *Cæsarius*, when *Gregory* had been now Bishop Forty Years. He had by her, after he was made Bishop, Two Sons, *Gregory Nazianzen*, and *Cæsarius*, and most probably one Daughter, for *Nazianzen* seems to have been older than his Sister, but most certainly was many years older than his Brother *Cæsarius*; yet that himself was born after his Father was made Bishop, he assures us in his Life, where he introduceth his Father thus speaking to him, (*c*) *You have not yet run through so many years of your Life,*

(*b*) Γαμετὴν καὶ παῖδας ἔχων ἀλλ' οὐ παρὰ τοῦτο τὰ θεῖα χείρων. l. 1. c. 11.

(*c*) Οὔπω τοσοῦτον ἐκμεμέτρηκας βίον, ὅσος διῆλθε θυσιῶν ἐμοὶ χρόνος. *Carm. de Vit. suâ post init.*

Life, as I have years of my Pastoral Charge. Baronius (*d*) affirms this to have been spoken hyperbolically, that the use of Marriage was then forbidden to Bishops by the Canons and Constitutions of the Universal Church, and these Canons most religiously observed both in the East and West; that it may be demonstrated from Arguments of Chronology, *Nazianzen* was born before the Council of *Nice*, when his Father was not yet Baptized. The first Argument is already confuted by the precedent Testimonies; the second ariseth to no more than this, that *Nazianzen* was Thirty Years old when St. *Basil* parted from *Athens*, that *Basil* studied at *Athens* with *Julian*, who by the Testimony of *Ammianus Marcellinus*, (*e*) was come thither in the year 354. and that consequently *Nazianzen* was born in the year 324. the year before the Council of *Nice*.

(*d*) Annal. ad An. 371.

(*e*) Lib. 15.

This Chronology of *Baronius*, *Jac. Capellus* (*a*) saith he hath refuted in his History of the Church. I have not that Book now by me, and therefore not knowing whether he hath made good his Promise, must offer some considerations to the Reader in opposition to *Baronius* his Argument. First then, uncertain Arguments of Chronology, formed at this distance of time, ought not to invalidate the clear Testimony of *Nazianzen*, who best knew when himself was born. Secondly *Nazianzen* saith not he was thirty years old, when *Julian* came to *Athens*, but when *Basil* parted thence. Now *Basil* not only might, but most probably did stay several years at *Athens*, not only after the Arrival, but even after the Departure of *Julian*: At least most certainly he departed not before *Julian*, who left *Athens* in the end of the year 355. For St. *Basil* tells (*b*) *Julian*, that they had learned together at *Athens*, τὰ ἱερὰ τῆς καὶ βέλτιστα γράμματα, *Theology, and all the better sorts of Literature*, and throughly searched the Holy Scriptures. This was a Labour of more than a few Months, and therefore *Basil* cannot be supposed to have left *Athens* before *Julian*, who stayed there but little more than a year. Thirdly, *Nazianzen* saith not he was thirty years old, when *Basil* left *Athens*, but almost thirty; and that in a Poetick Work

(*a*) Annot. in 1 Tim. 3.

(*b*) Ad. Jul. Epist. 208.

Ἤδη τριακοστὸν μοὶ χρόδον τοῦ τ' ἦν ἔτος.

Work, where being not able to express the just time of his Age, he was forced to make use of a round number, which may admit a Latitude of two or three years. And it is most certain that his Father was made Bishop presently after the Council, as himself assures (c) us. So that even Arguments of Chronology make it probable *Nazianzen* was born after his Fathers Ordination; to which his own Testimony being added, make it most certain. And then his Brother *Cæsarius* was so much younger than himself, that in his Funeral Oration upon him, he frequently calls him a young Man, and often laments his untimely Death, although his Father had been then Bishop above Forty Years.

(c) Μικρὸν τὸ ἐν μέσῳ, — μικρόν τι διαλιπὼν. *Orat. fun. in Patrem.*

In the year 362. *Basilius*, Presbyter of *Ancyra*, and *Eupsychius* of *Cæsaria* in *Cappadocia*, (d) *Who had newly married a Wife, and was yet as it were a Bridegroom*, suffered Martyrdom. It appears not directly from the words of the Historian, whether the later was of the Clergy: But the words of *Athanasius* will put it past all doubt, who numbring (e) the Writers of this time which opposed *Arianism*, mentions *Eupsychius* Bishop of *Cappadocia*, of which *Cæsaria* was the Metropolis; if he means the same *Eupsychius*, which is not improbable. However if this be uncertain, most certain it is, that St. *Gregory*, Bishop of *Nyssa*, was married, and lived with his Wife *Theosebia* till her Death. This *Nicephorus* (a) testifieth, saying, that when he was Bishop, *he retained the Society of his Wife*, and (whose Authority is far greater than *Nicephorus*'s) *Nyssen's* intimate Friend, *Nazianzen*, who writing to *Nyssen* a consolatory Letter (b) upon the Death of his Wife, saith, *She had always lived with him, and mutually shared with him*

(d) Ἔναγχος γαμετὴν ἀγομένος καὶ οἷον ἔτι νυμφόον ὤν. *Sozom.* l. 5. c. 11.

(e) Adv. Arian. Orat. 1. p. 121.

(a) Γυναικὶ ὁμιλήσας. *Hist. Eccl.* l. 1. c. 19.

(b) *Epist.* 95. συσῆσαι, --τῶν τερπνῶν τοῦ βίου μεταχοῦσαι — ὄντως ἱερὰν καὶ ἱερέως σύζυγον καὶ ὁμότιμον.

him all the comforts of Life; and calls her *truly holy, the worthy Wife and Companion of a Biſhop.*

I will produce but one example more, but that ſo pregnant and expreſs, that it might alone teach us what was the Diſcipline of the Eaſtern Church in that Age. About the year 410. *Syneſius* was, for the repute of his great Learning, choſen Biſhop of *Ptolemais* in *Egypt*. He was then married, and had a Wife, whom he profeſſed to love paſſionately. It ſeems the voluntary Abſtinence from the uſe of Marrige, which ſome Biſhops of the Eaſt had undergone, was become an univerſal Cuſtom among the Biſhops of *Egypt*, ſo that the People expected that a married Man promoted to the Epiſcopal Dignity, ſhould renounce the Pleaſures of Marriage. And there was a particular Reaſon, why this Cuſtom ſhould generally obtain in *Egypt*, rather than in any other Provinces of the Eaſt. *Egypt* was then the great School and Nurſery of Monaſtick Diſcipline, which had probably at that time more Monks reſiding in it, than the whole VVorld beſides. The Biſhops of *Egypt* were almoſt all taken out of theſe Monks, and conſequently ſo great a Veneration for Celibacy poſſeſſed the *Egyptians*, that thoſe few married Biſhops which were among them, could by no other means conſerve the Reverence and eſteem, which was due to their Character, than by a voluntary renunciation of their Marriage: *Syneſius* therefore, that he might not deceive the expectation of the People, and willing to decline the burden, profeſſed (*c*) openly, and declared to all, *That he would neither totally ſeparate himſelf from the Company of his Wife, nor yet* (ſeparating himſelf only in appearance) *enjoy her Company by ſtealth, like an Adulterer. For this would be unlawful, and that unjuſt. But that he both intended and deſired to have many and handſom Children.* Notwithſtanding this Profeſſion, he was ordained by *Theophilus*, Patriarch

(*c*) Ἐμοὶ ὁ Θεὸς καὶ ὁ νόμος γυναῖκα ἐπέδωκε, σφαγεῖόν φημι τοῦτο ἅπαντι καὶ μαρτύρομαι, ὡς ἔγωγε ταύτης ὅπῃ ἀλλοτριώσομαι κατὰ παῖδα ἄθ, ὡς μοιχὸς αὐτῇ λάθρα σωιζόμαι, τὸ μὲν γὰρ ἄκυρα ἐυσεβὲς, τὸ δὲ ἄκυρα νόμιμον, ἀλλὰ βουλήσομαι ἅμα καὶ ἔνδοξομαι συχνὰ μοὶ παῖδα καὶ χρηστὰ μοὶ γενέσθαι παιδία. *Epiſt.* 105. *ad Evoptum fratrem.*

of

of *Alexandria*, than whom none better knew the Canons of the Church, and who hath left some learned Monuments of his Skill in that kind.

I proceed next to the Practice of the VVestern Church, where St. *Hierom* writing against *Jovinian*, acknowledgeth that Celibacy was not then generally entertained by the Clergy, many of whom retained the use of Marriage. *If Samuel*, saith he, *(a)* (whose Example you object) *being brought up in the Temple, married a Wife; what doth this prejudice Virginity? As if at this day also many Priests used not Marriage.* And afterwards, *Married Men are chosen into the Priesthood, I do not deny it: but then the reason is, because there are not so many Virgins* (or continent Persons) *as are necessary to supply the Office of the Priesthood. For all cannot contain.* Where it is evident these married Priests renounced not the enjoyment of their Marriage after Ordination. For then they must have been supposed to be continent Persons. A little before his time, *Hilary*, Deacon of *Rome*, writ his Questions upon both Testaments, wherein he hath these words, *(b) Hence the Apostle sheweth, that a married man, if in all other things he keeps the Commandments, both may and ought to be ordained Priest.* This was written few years before *Siricius* his Decree, and proves that the Imposition of Celibacy was then so little thought of in the Church, that it was believed unlawful, and repugnant to Apostolical Institution. That this Priest abstained not after Ordination, is manifest: For then he would therein also have observed the Commands, whether of God or of the Church. VVhen St. *Augustin* writ against *Faustus* the *Manichee*, in the beginning of the Fifth Age; no Imposition of Celibacy was yet introduced, or so much as taken notice of in the Church of *Africa*. For *Faustus* thus defends the *Manichees* immoderate Veneration of Virginity,

(a) Si Samuel nutritus in tabernaculo duxit uxorem quid hoc ad prejudicium Virginitatis, quasi non hodie quoque plurimi Sacerdotes habeant matrimonia? —Eliguntur mariti in Sacerdotium, non nego, quia non sunt tanti Virgines, quanti necessarii sunt Sacerdotes. Adv. Jovin. l. 1. c. 13.

(b) Hinc Apostolus eum, qui uxorem habeat, si in cæteris servet mandata, Sacerdotem fieri posse ac debere ostendit. Inter Augustini Opp. prope fin.

Virginity, and diſ-eſteem of Marriage. (c) *In the firſt place I would gladly be anſwered in this, whether in any caſe to cauſe perſons to continue Virgins, be the Doctrine of Devils, or only if it be done by a prohibition of Marriage. If the later, it concerns us not. For we alſo think it as fooliſh to forbid thoſe who are willing, ſo unlawful and impious to compel thoſe who are unwilling*: VVe perſuade, but force none. Here two things may be obſerved. Firſt, that in the Controverſie between the Catholicks and *Manichees* about Marriage, it was granted on both ſides, that a prohibition of Marriage to any Perſons was unlawful, impious, and a Doctrine of Devils: And then that no ſuch Prohibition was in uſe among the Catholicks, which *Fauſtus* confeſſeth, and pretendeth that his Party is no leſs innocent from any ſuch unlawful Impoſition. *Siricius*, in impoſing Celibacy upon the Clergy, pleads neither any Divine Inſtitution, nor precedent cuſtom of the Church; but only the indecency of Marriage in them. Rather *Innocent* renewing the Impoſition, confeſſeth it was no part of Eccleſiaſtical Diſcipline before *Siricius* his Decree. For commanding thoſe who had diſobeyed *Siricius* his Conſtitution, to be depoſed, he ſubjoins, (a) *But if it ſhall be proved that the form of Eccleſiaſtical Life, which the Biſhop* Siricius *ſent into the Provinces, came not to the knowledge of any; their Ignorance ſhall be pardoned, provided they abſtain for the future.* If Celibacy had been now long ſince ſetled in the Church by Eccleſiaſtical Canons, and become a matter of conſtant Diſcipline, none could have pleaded, none would have deſerved Pardon for their Ignorance. In *Africa* the repulſe given to Pope *Siricius*, and afterwards the conſtancy of thoſe Biſhops in defending their Liberty againſt the Uſurpations of *Innocent*, had ſo far diſcouraged the Popes of *Rome*, that deſpairing of being able to introduce Celibacy into that

(c) *Et tamen hoc nobis primo reſpondeatis velim, utrum omnino Virgines facere Doctrina ſit Demoniorum, an ſolum prohibitionem facere nubendi? Si per prohibitionem nihil ad nos. Nam & ipſi tam ſtultum indicamus inhibere volentem, quam nefas eſt & impium nolentem cogere.* Auguſt. adverſ. Fauſt. lib. 30.

(a) *Nam ſi ad aliquos forma illa eccleſiaſticæ vitæ quæ ab Epiſcopo Siricio ad Provincias commeavit, non probabitur pervenisſe, his ignorationis venia permittetur, ita ut de cætero penitus incipiant abſtinere.* Epiſt. 3. cap. 1.

Church, they thought it sufficient, if they could only hinder the Ordinations of *Bigamists*, and those who had married VVidows, which were frequent in *Africa*. Therefore *Leo*, in his Epistle to the *African* Bishops, complaining of this Abuse, saith, *The Apostolick Precept of the Monogamy of a Bishop was ever held so sacred,* (b) *that the same condition is to be observed concerning the Wife of a Bishop to be chosen; lest she perhaps before she was married to him should have had a former Husband.* Of total Abstinence from their Wives he maketh not the least mention. And indeed all the Cautions and necessary qualifications, which the antient Church required to be found in the Wives of the Clergy, would have been wholly unnecessary, if upon the Ordination of their Husbands they must immediately have ceased to be Wives. But, which is further to be observed in this Passage of *Leo*, the antient Editions of his Decretal Epistles, and particularly those in *Crabbe*'s Collection of the Councils, *Colon.* 1538. and 1551. instead of *eligendi* read *eligendâ*; and then the Sense will be, that the same condition is to be observed in the choice of a Bishop's or Priest's Wife; and consequently in the Church of *Africk* it was permitted, and by *Leo* thought not unlawful for the Clergy to contract Marriage even after Ordination. That they used Marriage after Ordination, we are assured by the Fathers of the *Quinisext* Council (c.)

(b) *Ut etiam de muliere Sacerdotis eligendi eadem intelligatur servanda conditio, ne forte illa, &c.* Epist. 87. ca. 1.

(c) Μετὰ τὴν ἐν ἁγίοις χειροτονίαν. *Can.* 12.

And indeed the more sober and moderate Popes seem never to have intended their Constitutions about Celibacy should be urged upon the Clergy out of the *Roman* Patriarchat; nor did they calculate them for the universal Church. It was *Innocent* alone, of all the antient Popes, who equalled the Ambition of his later Successors, and endeavour'd to make the Roman Patriarchat as extensive as the Roman Empire. This Patriarchat took in but a small part of the Western Church, and even that was sometimes contracted into

into narrower Bounds by the Invaſions of the *Barbarians*, who by their Succeſs of Arms alienating many Provinces from the Government of the Roman Prefect, withdrew them at the ſame time from the Juriſdiction of the Roman Patriarch. Hence it was that *Sicily*, being in poſſeſſion of the barbarous Nations, when P. *Leo* made his Decree about the Celibacy of Subdeacons, the Clergy of *Sicily* thought not themſelves obliged by it, nor took any notice of it. At leaſt it met with no Obedience in that Church, till the Iſland was in the next Age recovered to the *Roman* Empire. And then it obtained not in Vertue of *Leo*'s Conſtitution, but becauſe enforced by a Decree of Pope *Pelagius* II. about the year 588. Till then the Subdeacons of *Sicily* neither obeyed the Conſtitution, nor were obliged to do it, as Pope *Gregory* confeſſeth in his Repeal of *Pelagius* his Decree. *Three years ſince, ſaith he,* (a) *the Subdeacons of all the Churches of* Sicily *were commanded to abſtain from their Wives in conformity to the cuſtom of the Church of* Rome. *Which ſeemeth hard and unmeet to me, that he, who is not uſed to ſuch Continency, and never before promiſed Chaſtity, ſhould be compelled to be ſeparated from his Wife.* He makes no mention of *Leo*'s Decree, rather owns that Celibacy was not commanded to the Subdeacons of *Sicily* before *Pelagius* his Conſtitution, but expreſly aſſerts that Celibacy was not before then uſed by them, and that then they firſt began to abſtain from their Wives. The Iſle of *Corſica* was never ſubject to the *Roman Patriarchat*, as appears from an antient *Notitia* of the ſeveral Patriarchats of the Church, publiſhed by the learned Dr. *Beverege*, (b) and from *Nilus Doxopatrius*, (c) and therefore neither received nor were obliged by either the Conſtitutions of Popes about Celibacy, or the Canons of thoſe Provincial Councils before mentioned, wherein none of their Biſhops were preſent. Upon this account Pope *Gregory* I. expreſly allows to the Clergy of *Corſica* the uſe of

(a) *Ante triennium Subdiaconi omnium eccleſiarum Siciliæ prohibiti fuerant, ut more Romanæ eccl. nullatenus ſuis uxoribus miſcerentur. Quod mihi durum atque incompetens videtur, ut qui uſum ejuſdem continentiæ non invenit, neque caſtitatem ante promiſit, compellatur a ſua uxore ſeparari.* Lib. 1. Epiſt. 42.

(b) Pandect. Can. Tom. 2. in Not. p. 135.

(c) Notit. Patr. inter Moynii Var. Sacra. p. 217.

of Marriage. *We will*, (*c*) saith he, *that the Priests*, (*Sacerdotes*, by which word Bishops as well as Presbyters are designed) *which dwell in* Corsica, *be forbidden to converse with Women, except only a Mother, Sister, or Wife, who ought to be chastly govern'd.* That the Church of *Milan* was not subject to the *Roman* Patriarchat is fully proved by a Learned Divine (*d*) of our Church. And this was the reason why, when once the voluntary Zeal of Celibacy, which had possessed the Clergy of *Milan* in the time of St. *Ambrose*, grew cold and expired, Marriage was publickly used by the Clergy of that Church without any Interruption, till the times of *Hildebrand*; as we shall hereafter occasionally shew. The same was the Case of the Church of *England*, which owing no Obedience to the antient Papal Constitutions, and not intermedling in the Councils, which decreed Celibacy, retained to her Clergy the free use of Marriage, till by the Procurement and Artifices of *Anselm*, she forbid it in a National Synod in the Twelfth Century; as we shall hereafter more largely prove.

(*c*) *Praterea volumus, ut Sacerdotes, qui in* Corsica *commorantur, prohiberi debeant, ne cum mulieribus conversentur, excepta duntaxat matre, sorore, vel uxore, quæ caste regenda est.* Lib. 1. Ep. 50.

(*d*) Dr. *Cave*'s Discourse of Antient Church-Government, *cap.* 5. § 2.

This was the Case of Celibacy in those Provinces, which were not influenced by the Authority of the *Roman* Patriarch, nor had obliged themselves by any Synodical Act. Let us now view the State of those Provinces, which were the Stage of those several Councils we before numbred, *viz. Spain*, *France*, and *Germany* in the Ninth Age. That the so often repeated Canons of the *Spanish* Councils were unsuccessful, appears from St. *Isidore*, Bishop of *Sevil*, about the year 600. who in his Book of Ecclesiastical Offices, describing the several Duties of the Clergy, saith, (*a*) *Let Clergymen endeavour perpetually to preserve the Chastity of their Bodies inviolable; or at least be joyned with the Bond of one Marriage.* And indeed how hardly the inferiour Clergy of *Spain* brooked the necessity of Celibacy imposed on them by their Bi-

(*a*) *Clerici castimoniam invielati corporis perpetuo conservare studeant, aut certe unius matrimonii vinculo fœdentur.* Lib 2. c. 2.

shops

ſhops in ſeveral Synods, is evident from the Policy of *Keitiza*, King of *Spain*, in the year 702. who, conſcious of his own Wickedneſs and Tyranny, and fearing the Clergy, in revenge of it, might excite the Populacy to take up Arms and dethrone him, reſolved to oblige the Clergy, and gain their affections by ſome extraordinary Favour, which might be received by them with univerſal Applauſe; and therefore by publick Edict gave them Liberty to marry Wives, or retain them already married. Jo. Vaſaus Chron. Hiſpan.

In the Churches of *France* and *Germany*, Celibacy moſt certainly was not univerſally practiſed by the Clergy in the end of the Eighth Age, when Pope *Adrian* offered to *Charles the Great* his Collection of Canons fitted for the Government of the Churches in his Kingdoms. The Sixth Canon of that Collection is taken out of the Apoſtolick Canons, and is conceived in theſe words, (*b*) *Let not a Presbyter put his Wife out of his Family, but chaſtly govern her.* As for *France*, *Boniface*, Archbiſhop of *Mentz*, and Pope *Zachary*'s Legat there, had complained (*c*) not many years before, *That the Epiſcopal Sees were for the moſt part beſtowed upon Adulterate Clergymen.* For ſo he calls the married Clergy. The univerſal freedom of Marriage, which the *German* Clergy preſſed in the times of *Hildebrand*, argue the Canons of the Council of *Worms*, *Mentz*, and *Metz*, in the Ninth Age, to have been unſucceſsful, and never fully received in that Church. Nay, at the ſame time a Famous Biſhop of *Germany*, who lived and died with the reputation of a Saint, did ſtrongly oppoſe all impoſition of Celibacy. This was *Huldericus* or *Udalricus*, Biſhop of *Augſpurg*, who in his Epiſtle to Pope *Nicholas* I. demonſtrates to him the Injuſtice of his Decree againſt the Marriage of the Clergy, and perſuades

(*b*) *Presbyter uxorem ſuam a gubernatione ſua non abjiciat, ſed caſte regat.* Concil. Tom. 4. p. 1801.

(*c*) *Modo autem maxima ex parte per civitates (Galliæ) Epiſcopales ſedes tradita ſunt adulteratis Clericis.* Epiſt. ad Zachar. Pont. Concil. Tom. 6. p. 1493.

ſuades him to revoke it. No ſuch Decree indeed of *Nicholas* is now extant; however *Gratian* (*a*) citeth a Decretal Epiſtle of his to *Odo*, Archbiſhop of *Vien*, wherein he forbids Marriage to the Four Superiour Orders of the Clergy. As for the Decree againſt hearing the Maſſes of married Prieſts, which *Gratian* produceth in the next Chapter, that moſt certainly belongeth to *Nicholas* II. although the laſt Collectors of the Councils have ranked it among the Decrees of *Nicholas* I. Moſt probably then *Nicholas* had directed into *Germany* a Decretal of the ſame nature with that, to *Odo*, and ſollicited the reception of it by his Emiſſaries, whoſe Diligence and Artifices at laſt gained the Point in the Council of *Worms*, the year after *Nicholas* his Death. This Decree therefore *Hulderic* oppoſeth in a learned and paſſionate Epiſtle, (*b*) wherein he repreſents to the Pope, that the Marriage of the Clergy is not only lawful in it ſelf, but ought neceſſarily to be permitted. For that all cannot contain, and that none ought to be neceſſitated to Incontinence. That Marriage of the Clergy was uſed in the Old Law, left indifferent by Chriſt, permitted by the Apoſtles, countenanced by the ancient Canons of the Church, and continued by the Council of *Nice*. That the Impoſition of Celibacy had produced in the Clergy the moſt enormous ſorts of Luſts, Inceſt, Sodomy, and the moſt execrable Villanies. That theſe Luſts were openly acted by thoſe very Men, who deteſted the chaſte Marriage of the Clergy; who when they could not contain themſelves, impoſed it violently upon their Fellow-ſervants, and were not aſhamed to maintain, that it is more honeſt to accompany with many Women in private, than to be tied to one in the Face and View of Men. That nothing can be more unjuſt, than when Chriſt ſaith, *He that is able to receive it, let him receive it*; to oppoſe, *He that cannot receive it, let him be* Anathema. That this is the Hereſie which the Apoſtle of old foretold would

(*a*) Diſt. 32. cap. 4.

(*b*) Inter Orthodoxogr. Baſil. 1569. p. 481.

Honeſtius eſſe pluribus occulte implicari, quam aperte in hominum vultu & conſcientia cum una ligari.

would ariſe in the later times, ſpeaking Lies in Hypocriſie, and forbidding to marry. That the Chaſtity which theſe Men ſo much pleaded for, might no leſs be obtained in a married, than in a ſingle State, and with leſs danger be preſerved. Here we may obſerve that the Champions of Celibacy in this Age had ſo far improved the antient Miſtakes of the Impurity of Marriage, that they maintained the open uſe of it to be a greater Sin than Fornication. And then *Huldericus* plainly intimates, that Celibacy was never yet introduced into the Church of *Germany*. For he alloweth that thoſe, who have made a Vow of Continence, ought in no caſe to violate it, but may be even forced to perform it, but pleads that the Clergy had made no ſuch Vow.

Bellarmine, to avoid the Authority of this Epiſtle, maintains (*c*) it is ſpurious, and endeavours to confirm his pretence from Chronology, and to prove there was no *Huldericus* Biſhop of *Augſpurg* contemporary with Pope *Nicholas*. That there was but one of that Name Biſhop of that See, who was created Biſhop in the year 924. or 903. and died in the Eighty Third year of his Age, and Fiftieth of his Epiſcopacy; and that there were two *Hulderici*, Biſhops of *Augſpurg*, is a meer Invention of the *Magdeburg Centuriators*. To this may be anſwered, that *Bellarmin* doth no leſs *gratis* deny, than the *Centuriators* do affirm the exiſtence of two *Hulderici*; and in that caſe the Authority of the Manuſcript Copies is ſufficient to ſatisfie us. Beſides, this is no obſcure Writing found out and obtruded on the VVorld ſince the Reformation. It was famous, and noted more than Six Hundred years ſince. For *Bertoldus* of *Conſtance*, in his Continuation of *Hermannus Contractus*, relates, (*a*) That *Gregory* VII. in a Synod held at *Rome*, in the year 1079. condemned the Epiſtle of St. *Udalricus* to Pope *Nicholas* about the Marriage of the Clergy. And *Æneas Sylvius* (*b*) owns the truth of the whole matter, when relating his Journey through *Germany*, *We paſſed through* Augſpurg, ſaith

(*c*) De Cleric. l. 1. c. 22.

(*a*) Ad. An. 1079. p. 349. Edit. Francofurt. 1670.

(*b*) *Tranſivimus Auguſtam S. Udalricus huic præſedit, qui Papam arguit de Concubinis.* Lib. de Morib. Germ. p. 1053.

saith he; *St.* Udalricus *was Bishop of this City, who opposed the Pope in case of the Clergies Concubines.* For so they called the VVives of the Clergy after the days of *Hildebrand.* Lastly, that there was an *Huldericus*, Bishop of *Augspurg*, contemporary to Pope *Nicholas*, may be proved from the Authority of *Jacobus de Voragine*, who saith, (c) *St.* Udalricus *died after many Miracles in the year* 900. *the Eighty Third of his Age, and Fiftieth of his Consecration*, by which Computation *Huldericus* both preceded and survived the Popedom of *Nicholas*.

(c) *Legend. Aur. cap.* 202. Edit. Argentin. 1496.

Thus we have proved that the Laws of Celibacy were never universally received in the antient Western Church, in some Provinces even not imposed, and in none practised. The matter will be farther cleared by particular examples of married Clergymen. The marriage of *Restitutus*, Bishop of *London*, in the beginning of the Fourth Age, is attested by three accurate and learned VVriters of our British Antiquities, *Bale*, (d) Bishop *Godwin*, (e) and Sir *H. Spelman* (f.) In the middle of that Age St. *Hilary*, Bishop of *Poictiers*, is known to have been married. For to omit the Epistle to his Daughter *Abra*, which I deny not to be spurious; this is evinced by the Authority of *Venantius Fortunatus*, his Successor, who writ his Life, (g) and therein relates, that *Hilary* had a Wife and a Daughter living, when he was promoted to the Episcopal Order, which both continued to cohabit with him. That when he was banished by *Constantius* into *Asia*, he left his Daughter *Abra*, together with her Mother, at *Poictiers*. That returning from Banishment, he persuaded her to devote her self to God, and profess perpetual Virginity. Which when the Mother saw, she never ceased to sollicit her Husband, till he gave her leave also to dedicate her self to God, and make a Vow of Continence. A Passage which most evidently demonstrates, that she had hitherto enjoyed the Company of her Husband, and all the Pleasures of a chaste Marriage, and had not vowed Continence at his Assumption to the Episcopal Order.

(d) De Script. Angl. Cent. 10. cap. 5.
(e) De Præsul. Ang. p. 227.
(f) Concil. Angl. Tom. 1. p. 43.
(g) Apud Sur. Jan. 13

St. *Pan-*

S. *Paulinus* Biſhop of *Nola*, comes next; whoſe Example is moſt remarkable, as well becauſe he was one of the ſincerely pious men of all Antiquity, whom St. *Martin* (*b*) was wont to propoſe as the Pattern of all Perfection; as becauſe he was made Biſhop in the Roman Patriarchate, not long after the Promulgation of *Siricius* his Conſtitution, and ſeems to have been perſecuted by that Pope, meerly for retaining the company of his Wife, in oppoſition to his Decrees. He was deſcended from the greateſt Family of *Rome*, had born the Conſulſhip, and was in all reſpect the ſecond Perſon of the Empire; when quitting all ſecular Honours in the year 393. he was ordained Prieſt at *Barcetona* in *Spain*. His Wife *Therasia* then lived with him, the inſeparable Companion of all his Travels, and his whole Life. *Paulinus* was then in the 40th year of his Age, and ſhe ſomewhat younger; yet did they continue to live together in the ſame Houſe, and in the ſame Cell, till ſeparated by Death. After ſome ſtay there, *Paulinus* returned with his Wife to *Rome*; where he was received with infinite Applauſe by the Common People, but with great Rudeneſs by Pope *Siricius*, whoſe Pride and Churliſhneſs *Paulinus* (*a*) himſelf complains of. The occaſion of this Deportment of *Siricius*, ſeems to have been the prejudice which he feared his Conſtitution of the Continence of Prieſts and Deacons might ſuffer from the cohabitation of *Paulinus* with his Wife; the Example of a Perſon ſo illuſtrious, and ſo highly reputed for Sanctity, being alone ſufficient to reſtore Marriage to its due eſteem. Retiring thence to *Nola* in *Campania*, he was not long after made Biſhop of that place. That his Wife lived with him in the ſame little Cell, even after his Conſecration, *Sacchinus* (*b*) confeſſeth: and indeed is moſt evident. St. *Ambroſe* (*c*) ſpeaking of *Paulinus*'s Retirement at *Nola*, ſaith, *His Wife accompanied him, and contented there with the voluntary poverty of her Husband, comforted her ſelf with the riches of Piety and Charity.* Many of his Epiſtles written from *Nola*, are directed in both their names, having this Inſcription, (*d*) *Paulinus & Therasia Peccatores:* and almoſt all are dictated in the plural number.

(*b*) *Sup. Sever. de vit.* Martin. cap. 26.

(*a*) *Epiſt.* 1. *ad Sever.* p. 10.

(*b*) *Vit.* Paulin. *in init.*

(*c*) *Virum ſequitur & exiguo illic conjugis contenta ceſſit ſolatus ſe religionis & charitatis divitiis.* Epiſt. 36. *ad* Sabin.

(*d*) *Vid* Epiſt. 2. 26. 30. 31. 35. 41. 42. 44. 45. 46.

ber. St. *Augustin* and St. *Hierom*, in their Epistles to *Paulinus* (written after his assumption to the Episcopal Office, for their acquaintance began late) never fail to salute his Wife *Therasia*; and St. *Augustin* (e) invited them both together into *Africa*. And *Gregory Turonensis* (f) relates a memorable Passage of them, That when dwelling together in their little Cottage at *Nola*, *Therasia* once hindring the prodigal Charity of her Husband, by overmuch Frugality, diminished the Blessings of Heaven to them both: That he made any Vow of Continence from his Wife at his Ordination, can never be proved. Rather St. *Hierom* plainly intimates the contrary, that he denied not himself the Pleasures of Marriage, at least was not reputed to do it; when in his Epistle to him, he doubteth whether, although equalling the Perfections and Piety of a Monastick life, he may properly call him a Monk, (g) because he was yoaked with the Bonds of Marriage, and thereby was hindred from practising the utmost Perfections of a Monastick Profession.

(e) Epist. 34.
(f) De glor. Confess. cap. 107.
(g) Quoniam sanctæ sororis tuæ ligatus & vinculo, & non penitus expeditus peregis gradu. Epist. 13. ad Paulinum.

Among *Paulinus* his Epistles there are two (a) directed to *Aper* a Presbyter, and *Amanda* his Wife; who in the same manner renouncing the Honours and Riches of the World, lived together in a common Retirement, so far from forsaking the Duties of Marriage, that in that state they gave Education to a numerous Off-spring of Children. That *Prosper*, commonly reputed Bishop of *Rhegium*, was married, is manifest from his Poem dedicated to his Wife. *Sidonius Apollinaris* Bishop of *Clermont*, had married, while a Lay-man, *Papianilla* Daughter of *Avitus* the Emperour: and that she lived with him after his Ordination, appears from an Epistle (b) written to her, when absent, about the common affairs of their Family, under the Reign of *Nepos*, who was made Emperour in the year 474. two years after *Sidonius* his Consecration: and from the authority of *Gregory Turonensis*, (c) who relates that *Sidonius*, when Bishop, used to take his Plate out of the house by stealth and give it to the Poor, which his Wife was wont to redeem with Money. His Predecessour in that See, *Namatius*, built (d) the Cathedral Church

(a) Epist. 30. 31.
(b) Lib. 9. Ep. 16.
(c) Hist. Franc. l. 2. c. 22.
(d) Id. l. 2. c. 17.

Church of *Clermont*; and at the ſame time his Wife built the Church of St. *Stephen* in the Suburbs. But a more eminent Example of the Practice of the *Gallican* Church at that time, is the Election of *Simplicius* Biſhop of *Bourges*. The Biſhops of the Province not agreeing in the choice of a Biſhop, committed the diſpoſition of the whole matter to *Sidonius*, giving him a power of Nomination. *Sidonius* then going to *Bourges*, nominated *Simplicius* a married man, whom in a Speech he thus recommended to the People: (*e*) *His Wife is deſcended from the Family of the* Palladii, *who have poſſeſſed the Chairs either of Profeſſours or Biſhops, with great Commendation of their Order. In truth, becauſe the perſon of a Matron requires a modeſt and brief mention, I dare conſtantly averr, that woman is not unworthy of her Relation to the Clergy of both Families* (he had before ſaid, that *Simplicius* alſo deſcended of the Race of Prieſts) *either that wherein ſhe was born and brought up, or that whither ſhe was removed by Marriage. They both educate their Children prudently and vertuouſly. In the name therefore of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghoſt,* Simplicius *is he, whom I pronounce ſhall be your Biſhop.* To what purpoſe was all this Commendation of *Simplicius* his Wife, or what did it concern the People what manner of woman ſhe was, if immediately upon his Ordination ſhe muſt have retired from his Family, and ceaſe to be his Wife? And then, which is moſt obſervable, *Sidonius* pronounced him Biſhop, without giving him any previous notice of it, when neither his nor his Wifes reſolutions of a total future abſtinence from the uſe of their Marriage, could be ſuppoſed to be known, and therefore muſt be ſuppoſed not to have been required of them. As for his willingneſs to accept the Biſhoprick, they enquired not after that; ſince in that Age they thought it lawful to force men to take upon them the Paſtoral charge; but never thought it lawful to force them to put away their Wives, and abjure the Duties of Marriage.

(*e*) *Uxor illi de Palladiorum ſtirpe deſcendit, qui aut litterarum aut altarium Cathedras cum ſui ordinis laude tenuerunt. Sane, &c.* Oratio poſt Epiſt. 9. lib. 7.

In the next Age *Venantius Fortunatus* mentions (*a*) the Posterity of *Emelius* Bishop of *Burdeaux*, and in one almost whole Book (*b*) celebrates the Praises of *Leontius* his Successour, and *Placidina* his Wife, descended from *Sidonius* of *Clermont*, who adorned with Hangings the Churches which her Husband built. Some few years before, *Sidonius Apollinaris*, Son of the same *Sidonius*, had (*c*) obtained his Fathers Bishoprick by the Intrigues of his Wife *Placidina*. In the same Age, or towards the end of the former, *Gerhardus* or *Genebaldus* the first Bishop of *Laon*, having at his Ordination separated himself from his Wife, the Niece of St. *Remigius*, afterwards changed (*d*) his Resolutions; and resuming her society, begat St. *Latro* of her, who succeeded him in his Bishoprick. Many other married Bishops of these and the succeeding Ages might be reckoned, but these are sufficient to shew, that neither the Constitutions of Popes, nor Canons of Councils, ever gained universal Reception in any part of the Western Church, the use of Marriage being still retained by many Bishops, eminent both for Piety and Learning. So true is it, what *Polydore Virgil* (*e*) confesseth, that *notwithstanding the frequent repetition of the Law of Celibacy, Marriage could never be wrested from the Western Clergy, before the Popedom of* Gregory *VII.*

(*a*) *Carm.* l. 1. c. 11.

(*b*) *Carm.* l. 1.

(*c*) *Greg. Tur. Hist. Franc.* l. 3. c. 2.

(*d*) *Fascic. Temp. ad an.* 494.

(*e*) *Aliis super aliis promulgatis legibus, non ante Pontificatum Gregorii VII. conjugium adimi occidentalibus Sacerdotibus potuit.* De invent. rer. l. 4. c. 4.

Many other Arguments might be produced to demonstrate, that the use of Marriage was retained by the Clergy of the antient Church; which however they be less direct than those already mentioned, yet are they no less conclusive. Of this kind is the Practice of all those Hereticks and Schismaticks, who departing from the Western Church before Celibacy was introduced, retained the use of Marriage to their Clergy. It being the custom of all Hereticks, whose Errours were meerly speculative, to preserve that Ecclesiastical Discipline, which the Church then used when they departed from her, but not think themselves obliged by any subsequent Decrees of it. Thus the *Goths* and *Vandals* being infected with Arianism, under the Reign of *Valens*, before any imposition of Celibacy was attempted in the Church; and afterwards seating them-

themselves in *Spain*, took no notice of the Decrees of the Catholick Councils against the Marriage of the Clergy. Hence it was, that when towards the end of the sixth Age they began to be converted apace to the Orthodox Faith, most of their Clergy were found to be married; which forced the third Council of *Toledo*, in the year 589. in a manner to dispense with them in this Canon, (*a*) *It is observed by the H. Synod, that the Bishops, Priests, and Deacons, returning to the Church from Heresie, do yet retain the use of their Wives. That it may not therefore be done for the future, it is ordered, that they be separated from their Wives. But if any will not condescend to that, let him be reduced to the Order of Readers* (the fifth Order of the Clergy). *As for those who have all along been subject to the Canons of the Church, if any of them accompany with their Wives, let them be more severely punished.* Here the Council teacheth us, what was the general Practice of the Arian Clergy at that time; and acknowledgeth, that they were not obliged by any precedent Ecclesiastical Canons about Celibacy: whereas the *Arians* always confessed, they were obliged by all Constitutions of the Catholick Church made before their departure from it. The second Council of *Cæsaranguſta* or *Caragosa*, in the year 592. made a not-unlike Canon, (*b*) although somewhat more severe. For they commanded the converted Arian Clergy, who would not part with their Wives, to be reduced to Lay-Communion.

(*a*) *Compertum à S. Concilio Episcopos, Presb. & Diac. venientes ex hæresi, carnali adhuc desiderio uxoribus copulari. Ne ergo de cætero fiat hic præcipitur, ut, &c.* Can. 5.

(*b*) Can. 1.

The Rules prescribed by many Councils to the Clergy, for the government of their Wives, are a no less certain Argument of their cohabitation with them. The Council of *Eliberis*, (*c*) *Neocæsarea*, (*d*) and some others, commands, that *if any Clergy-mans Wife commits Adultery, after* (*e*) *the Ordination of her Husband, and he knows of it, he shall be bound to put her away.* But (*f*) if he will continue to cohabit with her, *he shall be incapable of executing his Office*, saith the Canon of *Ancyra*; *he shall* (*g*) *be excommunicated*, saith that of *Eliberis*. This Canon doth not only prove, beyond

(*c*) Can. 65.
(*d*) Can. 8.
(*e*) Μετὰ τὴν χειροτονίαν.
(*f*) Ἐὰν δὲ συζῇ.
(*g*) *Et scierit eam maritus suus mæchari.*

beyond all contradiction, the cohabitation of the Clergy with their Wives after Ordination, but also it is most manifest, that they abstain not from the company of their Wives, by that proviso, if her Husband knows that she commit Adultery, which otherwise would have been impertinent. For it cannot well be imagined that the Adultery of any mans Wife, with whom he accompanieth not himself, should escape his knowledge. A Synod held in *Ireland* by St. *Patrick*, in the year 450. or 456. decreed, (*b*) That *if any Clergy-man, from a Sexton to a Priest, should be seen without his Coat, or if his Wife walked abroad without a Veil upon her head; they should be both of them contemned by the Laity, and separated from the Church.* Where it would have been highly unjust to punish the Clergy for the light carriage of their Wives, if at their Ordination they renounced the company of their Wives, and thenceforth ceased to have any power over them. The first Council of *Toledo*, in the year 400. ordered, (*i*) That *if the Wives of any Clergy-men were scandalous in their carriage* (or rather were false to their Beds) *their Husbands should have power to keep and imprison them in their houses, and inflict any arbitrary punishment upon them, which extended not to death. But themselves should not so much as eat with them, unless they first did penance.* Whence it appears, that before the fault committed, they might have eaten with their Wives, and even after the fault, may again receive them to the usual familiarity of a Wife, if they will first do penance; which was in conformity to the antient Canons of the Church, which enjoyned, that if the Adultery of even any Lay-mans Wife was notorious; he should either be bound to put her away, or if he will retain her, first to do penance, lest he should otherwise seem to have consented to and connived at her Adultery.

(*b*) Can. 6. *Et uxor ejus si non vitato capite ambulaverit. Spelman. Concil. Anglic.* Tom. 1. p. 52.

(*i*) *Si quorumcunq; Clericorum uxores peccaverint.* Can. 7.

An evident Argument of the use of Marriage permitted to the Clergy, may be also drawn from the violent and forcible Ordinations of Bishops, Priests, and Deacons, which were frequent in the antient Church. For many of these persons, thus violently and against their wills ordained, were married, whose resolutions to abstain

abſtain from their Wives, could not then be known, and as all acknowledge, could not be forced. Or if they ſhould condeſcend to ſuch a renunciation of the pleaſures of Marriage, yet was it uncertain, whether their Wives would conſent to it. Who if they ſhould diſſent, they ought not to be defrauded of their Husbands Embraces, as all will grant: and therefore total abſtinence was not univerſally uſed by the Clergy, while ſuch violent Ordinations were in uſe. I will produce but two Examples of them. *Paulinus*, as himſelf (*a*) relates, being preſent in the Church of *Barcelona* upon *Chriſtmas*-day, was ſuddenly laid hold on by the people, dragged to their Biſhop *Lampius*, then officiating at the Altar, and ordained by him: his Wife *Therafia* not knowing of it till it was done. In *Africa*, about the ſame time, *Pinianus* an illuſtrious Nobleman of *Rome*, but more famous for his Piety, going with his Wife *Melania* to viſit St. *Auguſtin*, was beſet in the Church of *Hippo* by the people, and forced to divert their preſent intentions, by promiſing them under Hand and Seal, before many Witneſſes, that if they would now diſmiſs him, he would in due time enter into Prieſts Orders among them. This he did, his Wife *Melania* being not only unwilling, but even weeping and proteſting againſt it, as loath to deſcend from the pomp of a Roman Lady, to the humility of a Prieſts Wife.

(*a*) Epiſt. 6. *ad Severr.* p. 101.

Auguſt. Epiſt. 225.

The Titles which were antiently beſtowed upon the Wives of the Clergy, are no mean Argument of their cohabitation and continued uſe of Marriage. The Wives of Biſhops, Prieſts, Deacons, and Subdeacons, are frequently in the Councils called Biſhopeſſes, Prieſteſſes, Deaconeſſes, and Subdeaconeſſes; Titles which argue they did not immediately ceaſe to be Wives, upon the promotion of their Husbands to thoſe ſeveral Orders, nor looſe all relation to them. Rather the firſt of theſe Canons enjoyn, That *a Biſhop having no Biſhopeſs* (no Wife) *ſhall not keep any number of women in his Family*; which plainly intimates, that he might admit women into his Family, if he had a Wife to preſide over them, and by her prudent government ſecure their ſobriety. Laſt-

Vid. Can. 13. 19. *Concilii Turon.* 2. *anno* 567. *Can.* 21. *Concilii Antiſſiodorenſis anno* 578. *Can.* 1, & 2. *Concilii Romani an.* 721. *Can.* 5. *Concilii Rom. an.* 743.

Lastly, Children are the visible Effects of Marriage; and those many Sons of the Clergy, which were eminent in the ancient Church, manifest there were many more, who neither deserved nor obtained any place in History, and that the Marriage of the Clergy was then both frequent and honourable. I will produce the chief of them. In the First Age we have *Petronilla*, Daughter of St. *Peter*, four Virgin-Propheteſſes, Daughters of *Philip* the Evangeliſt, and three Daughters of St. *Philip* the Apoſtle. In the Second Age *Marcion* the degenerate Son of a Pious and Orthodox Biſhop. In the Third Age *Domnus* Son of *Demetrianus*, Biſhop of *Antioch*, was made Biſhop of that See, upon the deprivation of *Paulus Samoſatenus*. In the Fourth Age *Probus* and *Metrophanes* were the Sons, and in order Succeſſours of *Dometius* Biſhop of *Bizantium*. *Euſtathus* Biſhop of *Sebaſtea* was Son of *Eulalius* Biſhop of *Cæſarea* in *Cappadocia*. St. *Gregory Nazianzen* Biſhop of *Conſtantinople*, and *Cæſarius* Count of the Empire and Quæſtor of *Bithynia*, both Sons of *Gregory* Biſhop of *Nazianzen*. *Sozomen* (*a*) mentions a great Officer in the Court of *Theodoſius* the Emperour, ſon of *Helladius* Biſhop of *Cæſarea* in *Cappadocia*. *Flavius Dexter*, *Præfectus-Prætorio* of the Eaſt, was the ſon of *Pacianus* Biſhop of *Barcelona*. *Abra*, daughter of St. *Hilary*. *Eulampia*, daughter of *Anicius*, a Presbyter and Mother of *Philoſtorgius* the Hiſtorian. *Apollinaris*, the learned Biſhop of *Laodicia*, ſon of the no leſs learned *Apollinaris*, Presbyter of *Laodicia*. *Evagrius Ponticus*, Arch-deacon of *Conſtantinople*, ſon of a Presbyter of *Iberia*. Pope *Anaſtatius*, Son (*b*) of *Maximus* a Presbyter. In the Fifth Age there was *Julianus* Biſhop of *Ecla* in *Campania*, ſon of *Memor* Biſhop of *Capua*, and his Wife *Ia* daughter of *Æmilius* Biſhop of *Beneventum*. St. *Patrick*, ſon of *Calphurnius* a Deacon. *Leporius*, Presbyter of *Marſeilles*, ſon of *Sulpicius Severus* Presbyter of *France*, (as ſome think.) That *Sulpicius* was married, is evident from his Epiſtle to *Baſſula* his Mother-in-law. Pope *Boniface* I. ſon (*c*) of *Secundus*, Presbyter of *Rome*. *Theodulus*, ſon of St. *Nilus*, Presbyter of *Eluſa*. *Auſpiciola*, daughter of *Salvian*, Presbyter of *Marſeilles*. *Photina*,

Euſeb. l. 7. c. 30.

(*a*) *L. 8. c. 6.*

(*b*) *Liber Pontif.*

(*c*) *Pallad. Hiſt. Lauſiac. cap. 130.*

Photina, an holy virgin daughter of *Theocliſtus*, Presbyter of *Laodicea*. *Salonius* and *Verarius*, ſons of *Eucherius*, Archbiſhop of *Lyons*, and both Biſhops in their Father's lifetime. *Gelaſius Cyzicenus*, Archbiſhop of *Cæſarea* in *Palaſtine*, ſon of a Presbyter in *Cyzicum*. *Alcimus Avitus*, Archbiſhop of *Vien*, and *Apollinaris*, Biſhop of *Valence*, ſons of *Iſicius*, Archbiſhop of *Vien*. *Superventor*, a Clergyman of *France*, ſon (*a*) of *Claudius*, a Biſhop. Pope *Felix* III. ſon of *Felix*, Presbyter of *Rome*, (ſo the *Liber Pontificalis*) or of *Valerius*, a Biſhop of *Africa* (ſo *Gratian b*) *Radulphus de Diceto*, ſaith (*c*) Pope *Gelaſius* I. was ſon of *Valerius*, a Biſhop. In the end of this Age, *Leontia*, daughter (*d*) of St. *Germanus*, a Biſhop in *Africa*, ſuffered Martyrdom at *Carthage*. In the Sixth Age Pope *Silverius* was ſon of Pope *Hormiſda*. Pope *Agapetus*, ſon of *Gordianus*, Presbyter of *Rome*. *Epiphanius*, Patriarch of *Conſtantinople*, praiſed by *Juſtinian* (*e*) the Emperour for his deſcent from a Prieſtly Family. *Chronopius*, Biſhop of *Perigord*, deſcended from (*f*) Biſhops both by Father and Mother's ſide. *Nonnoſus*, the Hiſtorian, ſon of *Abraamius*, a Presbyter. *Sidonius Apollinaris*, Biſhop of *Clermont*, ſon of *Sidonius*, Biſhop of that place. *Archadius*, Senator of *Clermont*, ſon of *Sidonius, junior*. *Latro*, Biſhop of *Laon*, ſon of *Gerhardus*, Biſhop of the ſame place. *Syagrius*, ſon of *Deſideratus*, Biſhop of *Verdun*. Pope *Gregory* I. great Grandchild of Pope *Felix* IV. In the Seventh Age we find Pope *Deuſdedit*, ſon of *Stephen*, Subdeacon of *Rome*. Pope *Theodorus*, ſon of *Theodorus*, ſuffragan Biſhop of *Hieruſalem*. *Samuel*, the *Britiſh* Hiſtorian, ſon (*g*) of *Beulanus*, Presbyter of *Britain*. In the Eighth Age we have *Anchiſes*, ſon of *Arnulphus*, Biſhop of *Mets*, Progenitor of the *Caroline* Family. St. *Florebert*, ſon and ſucceſſour of St. *Hubert*, Biſhop of *Leige*. *Gerbilo*, ſon and ſucceſſour of *Geroldus*, Archbiſhop of *Worms*. In the Ninth Age, Pope *Hadrian* II. ſon of *Talarus*, an *Italian* Biſhop. Pope *Marinus*, ſon of *Palumbus*, a Presbyter. Pope *Stephen* VI. ſon of *John*, Presbyter of *Rome*. In the Tenth Age, Pope *John* XIII. ſon of *John*, an *Italian* Biſhop. Pope *John* XV. ſon of *Leo*, Presbyter of *Rome*. *Joannes Camenſiata*, the Hiſtorian,

(*a*) *Concil. tom.* 3 *p.* 1492.
(*b*) *Diſt.* 56. *c.* 2.
(*c*) *Imag. Hiſtor. ad Ann.* 1161.
(*d*) *Victor. Vit. de perſecut. Vandal. lib* 5.
(*e*) *Novell.* 3. *in fine.*
(*f*) *Ordo Sacerdotum cui ſuxit utroque parente. Venit ad hæredem Pontificalis apex. Venant. Fortun. in Epitaph. Chronopii carm.* 1. 4.
(*g*) *Nennius apud Baleum. Cent.* 1. *c.* 77.

rian, ſon of a Presbyter of *Theſſalonica*. As for *John* XI. baſe ſon of *Sergius* III. in this, and *Hadrian* IV. Baſtard of *Robert Parſon* of *Langley* in *Hartfordſhire*, in the Twelfth Age, they peculiarly belong to the Church of *Rome*, to whoſe Celibacy they owed their being, and to whoſe ſhame they poſſeſs'd their Thrones.

In the end of the Seventh Age, that undiſturbed freedom of Marriage, which the Eaſtern Clergy had hitherto enjoyed, ſuffered ſome little diminution in the *Quiniſext* Council. This was a Council aſſembled at *Conſtantinople*, in the Year 692. to ſupply the defects of the Fifth and Sixth General Councils, of which the laſt was held but eleven years before, and neither of them had made Canons for the better government of the Church, being wholly taken up with the determination of Matters of Faith. To remedy this defect the *Quiniſext* Council was called, which in truth was nothing elſe but a continuation of the Sixth Council, almoſt the ſame Biſhops being preſent in both; and therefore the Canons of it are commonly cited under the name of the Sixth Council. A voluntary abſtinence from the uſe of Marriage, was now become common to all the Biſhops of the Eaſt; which is not at all to be wondred at, for that cuſtom was already taken up, which at this day continueth in the Eaſtern Church, of chuſing the Biſhops, not out of the Secular Clergy, but out of Monaſteries. This voluntary Abſtinence therefore being now become univerſal, was in this Council formed into a Law, upon occaſion of the Biſhops of *Africa* and *Libya*, who ſtill retained the uſe of Marriage. This the Council inhibited (*a*) to them and all other Biſhops for the future, profeſſing *they did it not* (b) *in derogation of the ancient Apoſtolical Diſcipline, but for the greater edification of the Church*: whereby they acknowledge, that the uſe of Marriage was permitted even to Biſhops by the Apoſtles, and that permiſſion continued down in the Church till their times.

(*a*) *Can.* 12.

(*b*) Οὐκ ἵνα ἀθετήσωμεν ἢ ἀναστρέψωμεν τῶν Ἀποστολικῶν προστάξεων.

As for the Marriage of Prieſts, and all the other inferiour Clergy, the Council only commanded an abſtinence from the uſe of it in the time of the celebration of the more

more sacred Mysteries of Religion, at which times it had been forbidden also to Laymen by the Canons of many Councils. Thus only renewing the Third Canon of the Fifth Council of *Carthage*, in all other things they left to the Clergy the free use and enjoyment of their Marriage. And not only so, but condemned also the practice of the Church of *Rome* in these words: (c) *Whereas in the Church of* Rome, *we understand it is prescribed in form of a Canon, that those who are to be invested with the Order of Priest or Deacon, should promise perpetual abstinence from their Wives: we following the ancient Canon of Apostolical Truth and Discipline, enact, that the lawful cohabitation of the Clergy with their Wives cease not to be accounted valid, not daring to dissolve the union between them and their Wives, nor depriving either of the convenient Society* (or Embraces) *of the other. Lest we should thereby be unavoidably injurious to Marriage, which God ordained, and blessed with his own presence; the Holy Gospel pronouncing this Sentence,* What God hath joyned together, let no man put asunder; *and the Apostle teaching us, that Marriage is honourable, and the bed undefiled; and again,* Art thou bound unto a Wife? seek not to be loosed. *If any one therefore shall presume against the Apostolical Canons, to deprive the Clergy of the lawful company of their Wives, let him be deposed.*

(c) Ἐπειδὴ ἐν τῇ Ῥωμαίων ἐκκλησιᾷ ἐν τάξει κανόνος παραδεδόσθαι διέγνομεν τοὺς μέλλοντας διακόνου ἢ πρεσβυτέρου χειροτονίας ἀξιοῦσθαι, καθομολογεῖν ὡς οὐκέτι τῶν αὐτῶν συνάπτονται γαμεταῖς ἡμεῖς τῷ ἀρχαίῳ ἐξακολουθοῦντες κανόνι τῆς ἀποστολικῆς ἀκριβείας, &c. Can. 13.

This Council was ever held sacred, and the Constitutions of it about the Marriage of the Clergy continued down in the *Greek* Church without variation to this very day. That it was an Oecumenical Council the *Greeks* always believed, and the *Latins* have sometimes confessed. For the Church of *Rome* acknowledgeth the Third *Constantinopolitan* Council to have been General, of which the *Quinisext* was no more than an Appendix, and therefore always accounted part of it. The interval of eleven years doth no more prejudice the identity of the two Councils, than almost twice that number of years be-

tween the first and last Session of the Council of *Trent* can hinder them from being esteemed parts of the same Council. Besides, the Church of *Rome* doth at this day receive the Definitions of the Second Council of *Nice*, and accounts it Oecumenical. But this Council expressly confirmed the Sixth General Council, and therein also the *Quinisext* Council. For that they accounted the latter to be a part of the former, and consequently confirmed both together, is manifest; because citing the Eighty second Canon of the *Quinisext* Council, they call it (*a*) *the definition of the Holy and Oecumenical Sixth Council.* Or, lastly, If the express approbation of a *Pope* be required to make a Council General, neither is that here wanting. For *Pope Hadrian* I. in his Epistle to *Tarasius*, Patriarch of *Constantinople*, citing the same Canon, calls it, (*b*) *one of the divine and lawfully enacted Canons of the Sixth Synod.* The *Greek* Translation is more express, which runs thus: (*c*) *I receive all the Decrees of this holy Sixth Council, with all the Constitutions and Canons divinely enacted by it.* However, that the Church of *Rome* hath approved this very Custom of the Eastern Church, of permitting to the Clergy the use of Marriage, appeareth from the Decretal of *Pope Stephen*, cited by *Gratian* in these words: (*d*) *The Tradition of the Eastern Churches is different from that of the holy Church of* Rome. *For in them Priests, Deacons and Subdeacons are joyned in Marriage*, (Matrimonio copulantur, i. e. *enjoy the use of Marriage*, as *Mendoza* (*e*) hath learnedly proved the meaning of those words to be) *But in this or the Western Churches, none of the Clergy, from a Subdeacon to a Bishop, hath liberty to use Marriage.* Here the *Pope* expressly confesseth the use of Marriage by the Clergy, to have been always the Tradition and Practice of the Eastern Church. And if so, it must have been also sometimes of the Western. For being never practised in the East, it could not be of Apostolical institution; and therefore must have been introduced in the West by some subsequent Decree of the Church. This

(*a*) Ὅρον τῆς ἁγίας καὶ οἰκουμενικῆς ἕκτης συνόδου. Act. 4. p. 234.

(*b*) *In sexta Synodi divinè & legaliter prædicatis Canonibus.*

(*c*) Τὰ ὅσα τῆς ἁγίας ἕκτης συνόδου δέχομαι μετὰ πάντων τῶν ἐνθέσμων καὶ θεοσόφων ἐκφωνηθέντων παρ' αὐτῆς κανόνων. Concil. Tom. VII. p. 122.

(*d*) *Aliter se Orientalium habet traditio Ecclesiarum, aliter hujus S. Rom. ecclesiæ nam, &c.* Dist. 31. c. 14.

(*e*) *De confirm. Conc. Illib. l. 2. c. 66.*

This was the ſtate of Celibacy in the Chriſtian Church for the firſt thouſand years. No-where impoſed in the better and purer Ages of Chriſtianity, introduced into the Roman Patriarchate by a raſh Pope, commanded by many Provincial Councils of the Weſt, but in no place univerſally obſerved; the impoſition of it always diſuſed, and at laſt condemned in the Eaſtern Church; and the practice of it in theſe latter Ages, become obſolete in the Weſt. It will not now be amiſs to look back a little, and make ſome Obſervations upon the Authors, and advance of Celibacy; whereby we may the better judge, how far the Authority and Example of thoſe times ought herein to influence and direct the practice of the preſent Age.

Firſt then, the Celibacy of the Clergy was hitherto eſteemed by all, a matter of meer Diſcipline, firſt introduced for reaſons of Decency, Convenience, and ſuppoſed Edification; which have not only long ſince ceaſed, but Celibacy is now become a Snare to the Clergy, and a Scandal to the whole Church. So that the obligation of the Laws of Celibacy, even in thoſe particular Churches where it was antiently introduced and commanded, have long ſince ceaſed. The pretence of Divine or Apoſtolical Inſtitution, was not heard of, till the days of *Hildebrand*, and is but faintly maintained in theſe times. That the antient Impoſers of Celibacy never thought of this pretence, is evident, becauſe they never made that plea. This we before obſerved, particularly of the Decrees of *Siricius* and *Innocent*, and may be affirmed of all Popes and Councils, which favoured or commanded Celibacy in thoſe times. Not to ſay that ſome Councils, as the *Quiniſext* II. of *Toledo*, and others, expreſly acknowledge the permiſſion of Marriage to the Clergy to be of Apoſtolical Inſtitution.

II. The Example of the antient Church in this caſe, is not only not concluſive, but even of no authority; it neither neceſſitates nor recommends Celibacy to the preſent Church. For all the deference which we ow to the Authority and Example of theſe times, proceeds from a probable

probable supposition, that the antient Church had greater and better opportunities of knowing the mind of *Christ*, the intentions of the Apostles, and the exigences of the Church, than the present Age can pretend to, as being more removed from the Fountains head, and animated with a less vigorous and impartial zeal for the knowledge of Truth, and increase of Piety. But when this supposition becomes not only improbable, but is evidently false; when we are assured the practice of the antient Church was occasioned and introduced by prejudices and mistakes, false notions of Piety, and gross errours about the nature of things; imitation would not only be not laudable, but even foolish, and perhaps unlawful; lest the continuance of such a practice should uphold the errours which first produced it. At least, when these mistakes are discovered, these prejudices removed, the authority of this example will vanish with them. That this was the case of Celibacy in the antient Church, we have all along observed and proved; and need not here repeat our Arguments.

III. If we should allow the usage of the antient Church to be in all cases a Rule and Pattern to the present Age, yet will Celibacy receive no advantage from it. The Marriage of the Clergy may put in a larger and much better Plea of antiquity, as being able to produce the practice of the Universal Church in the four first Ages of Christianity, of the whole Eastern, and many parts of the Western Church to this day, and alledge the Suffrage of two General Councils, the first and fourth, which confirmed and allowed it. Whereas the imposition of Celibacy was unknown to the first and better Ages, not universally practised in the latter, rejected by one, and condemned by another General Council, and never confirmed by other than Provincial Synods, whose Acts may be annulled, and Decrees abolished by the single authority of any particular Church. And certainly if, what most of our Adversaries pretend, the tradition and practice of the present Universal Church be the only certain method of knowing the Opinion and Doctrine of all precedent Ages,

Ages, the lawfulness and convenience of the Clergies Marriage must have been the belief of the antient Church: since all the Eastern Churches, the greatest part of the Universal Church, not to speak of the Reformed Churches in the West, do at this day permit the use of Marriage to the Clergy, and maintain the imposition of Celibacy to be unlawful. Which also is no small prejudice to the cause of the Church of *Rome*, if there be any truth or solidity in that grand Argument of our Adversaries, that in the case of two dissenting Churches, when the one openly condemneth the practice of the other, and receiveth not the same severe Sentence from her Adversary, Truth and Justice must necessarily lye on that side. For however the Greek Church hath always condemned, as impious and unjust, the imposition of Celibacy in the Latin Church, the *Latines* never dared to return the same Sentence upon the permission of Marriage to the Clergy in the Greek Church. Rather the practice of the Eastern Church hath been allowed and ratified by the publick Authority of the Church of *Rome*. For to omit the great *Lateran* Council under Pope *Innocent* the Third, wherein our Adversaries confess that permission of Marriage was continued to the Greek Priests, thus Pope *Nicolas* the First answered to the Inquiry of the *Bulgarians*: (a) *You ask whether you ought to maintain and honour a Priest, having a Wife, or to remove him from you. To which we answer, That although they be very blameable, you ought not to cast them off.* And *Bellarmine* (b) acknowledgeth, that although the Roman Church approves not herein the practice of the Greek Church, and judgeth it to be an abuse, yet she permits it to the *Greeks*; so that if they had no other errours, a Peace might easily be accorded between the two Churches.

(a) *Consulendum decernitis, utrum Presbyterum habentem uxorem debeatis sustentare, & honorare, an à vobis projicere: quo respondemus, licet ipsi valde reprehensibiles sint, dijicere eum à vobis non debetis. Cap. 70. Concil. Tom. 8. p. 540.*

(b) *De Clr. lib. 1. cap. 21.*

IV. The practice of the ancient Church in the imposition of Celibacy, was various and divers; and consequently

quently neither Celibacy it self can be of Apostolical Institution, nor the antient practice of it be a fixed Rule to succeeding Ages. The great variation of the Canons of those several Councils, which enjoyned Celibacy, we before observed; and might add the alterations introduced into the practice of the Greek Church by the *Quinisext* Council, and Novels of *Leo* the Emperour. But I will here insist only upon the case of Subdeacons, who in the present Church of *Rome* are no less forbidden the use of Marriage, than the superiour Clergy. Not to the antient Church. *Siricius* and *Innocent* left Marriage free to them. Pope *Leo* the First endeavoured to impose Celibacy upon them; but his Decree gained no acceptance. Many Councils after that time, permitted Marriage to them. *Palagius* the Second forbid it to the Subdeacons of *Sicily*: but his Successour *Gregory* repealed that prohibition. That Continence was not yet commanded to Subdeacons, neither in *Spain* nor *Sicily*, at the time of the third Council of *Toledo*, *Anno* 589. *Baronius* (*a*) and *Binius* (*b*) affirm, may be evidently deduced from the fifth Canon of that Council. In *England*, *Augustin* Archbishop of *Canterbury* had consulted Pope *Gregory*, whether Clergy-men not being able to contain, might marry; and whether when married, they ought to resume a secular Life. *Gregory* returned answer, that (*c*) *Clergy-men who were not in Holy Orders, if they could not contain, might marry, and ought still to be maintained from the Revenues of the Church, and be employed in sacred Functions.* By Clergy-men *not in Holy Orders*, an antient Saxon Homily produced by Mr. *Whelock*, (*d*) understands all besides Deacons, Priests, and Bishops. And even after the time of *Hildebrand*, Pope *Urban* the Second, in the Council of *Beneventum*, prescribed Continence to Bishops, Priests, and Deacons, but not to Subdeacons; to whom the Fathers of the Council affirm, (*e*) Celibacy was neither imposed by the *Primitive* Church, nor commanded by the Apostles. Lastly, *Gratian* contends, (*f*) that neither Deacons nor Subdeacons ought to be restrained from contracting and using Marriage.

(*a*) *Annal. ad an.* 589.
(*b*) *Not. in Concil.*
(*c*) *Clerici extra sacros ordines constituti. Respons ad Interrogat.* 2. *Augustin. apud Bedam Hist. Eccl.* l. 1. c. 27.
(*d*) *Not. in Bed. in loc.*
(*e*) *Can.* 1.
(*f*) *Dist.* 28. *can.* 13.

V. What-

V. Whatſoever *Popes* and Councils in the antient Church forbid Marriage to the Clergy, did at the ſame time forbid to them the company of Concubines, with much greater and ſeverer penalties. Which doth not only demonſtrate, that they believed not the uſe of Marriage by the Clergy, to be equal to the crime of Fornication; but alſo takes away from the Church of *Rome* all juſt title to any plea of antiquity in the impoſition of Celibacy; ſince ſhe hath ſometimes openly permitted the uſe of Concubines to the Clergy, and always in theſe latter Ages affixed greater puniſhments to the Marriage, than to the Concubinacy of the Clergy. And therefore the Gloſs upon the Canon-Law (*a*) obſerveth, that Fornication is leſs diſadvantageous to the Clergy, than Marriage; becauſe in many caſes Marriage would exclude a man from Orders, or deprive him when ordained; when a Fornicator might be admitted into and continued in the ſacred Office.

(*a*) *Diſt.* 34. cap. 7.

VI. The antient Church, in impoſing Celibacy upon the Clergy, ever left open a Refuge for incontinent perſons, and thereby prevented the danger of their incontinence and ſcandal of the Church. And not only thoſe who could no longer contain, but even all who deſired Marriage, were permitted to contract it, by quitting the ſacred Office, and retiring to Lay-Communion; maintained ſtill by the Revenues of the Church, and ſometimes allowed to rank themſelves among the three inferiour Orders. Thus the Councils of *Orleans* I. of *Tours*, and many others in the Weſtern Church. In the Eaſt, no other puniſhment than deprivation, was ever inflicted upon the ſuperiour Clergy contracting Marriage. So the Council of *Neocæſarea*, and the Novels (*b*) of *Juſtinian* the Emperour. And even this puniſhment of total Deprivation, *Leo* (*c*) the Emperour thought too ſevere, and therefore moderated it, decreeing, That Prieſts, Deacons, and Subdeacons, contracting Marriage after Ordination, ſhould only be depoſed from that degree wherein they were before their Marriage, and be reduced to a lower Station among the Clergy, uſing in the mean while the Habit of the Clergy,

(b) *Novel.* 6. cap. 5.

(c) *Novel.* 79.

and attending to the administration of holy things, although acting in a lower Sphere. And this *Balsamon* (*d*) proposeth, as the constant practice of the Greek Church in his time. In the West however, many Popes and Councils of the fifth, sixth, and seventh Ages, commanded the Clergy contracting Marriage, to be excommunicated and separated from their Wives: these furious Decrees vanished and grew obsolete in the next Ages: and Deprivation was thought a sufficient punishment of Marriage, when *Isidore Mercator* forged the Decretals about the beginning of the ninth Age; as appeareth from a spurious Decree of Pope *Lucius*, cited by *Gratian*, (*e*) and from the Canons of the Councils of *Worms* and *Mentz*, towards the end of this Age. I may add, that no more than a temporary Deprivation seems then to have been sometimes used. For the spurious Acts of the second Roman Council, under Pope *Silvester*, forged by the same *Mercator*, decrees, (*f*) That *no Presbyter shall contract Marriage from the day of his Ordination, if he doth, let him be deprived of his dignity for ten years.* Thus did the antient Church allow a Remedy to the Incontinence of the unmarried Clergy; and perhaps cannot properly be said to have forbidden Marriage to any, since none was by her Constitutions rendered incapable of Marriage, nor totally debarred from it. Not so the present Church of *Rome*, which maintaineth Marriage contracted after Ordination, to be in it self unlawful, and no other than the sin of Fornication and Adultery; nay, much worse than both, in the judgment of Cardinal *Campegius*, who to the Embassadours of *Strasbourg* complaining of the open Concubinacy of their Clergy, and desiring Marriage might be permitted to them as a Remedy of it, answered, That *the Marriage of Priests was a much greater sin, than if they kept many Concubines in their house. For that these were perswaded they did well, but the others both knew and confessed their sin.* And lest we should imagine this to be only the product of a rash and precipicate judgment, *Costerus* (*a*) the Jesuit proposeth and defendeth the same Proposition.

(*d*) *Comm. in Can. 5. Conc. 6.*

(*e*) *Dist. 81. cap. 19.*

(*f*) *Nemo Presbyter à die susceptî Sacerdotii conjugium iniat: sin faciat, honore per decennium privetur.* Can. 19.

Quòd Sacerdotes fiant mariti, multò esse gravius peccatum, quàm si plurimas domi meretrices alant. Sleidan. Com. lib. 4.

(*a*) *Enchrid. Controv. c. 19.*

VII. The

VII. The ſcandalous and bad effects, which too great an affectation, much more the impoſition of Celibacy, produced in the antient Church, might juſtly deter the preſent Age from imitating that Example, and thereby continuing and augmenting the ſame ſcandals. The horrible and ſad abuſes of Eunuchs and Houſe-keepers, we have before deſcribed; whoſe ill examples have done greater injury, and given deeper wounds to the honour and reputation of the antient Church, than ever the affected or impoſed Celibacy of the Clergy brought luſtre or advantage to it. And if in thoſe times when the firſt zeal of Chriſtianity was not yet expired, when Piety and Vertue were excited by Miracles, and fomented by Perſecutions; when a generous renunciation of the World, and contempt of all Sublunary Pleaſures, was the common practice, and ſeem'd to be the very genius of Chriſtianity: if under all theſe advantages Celibacy could not make good its glorious pretences, nor promote that, for which it was at firſt intended, true Virginity: if then the voluntary practice of it betrayed the Church to open ſcandals and manifeſt inconveniencies, in vain do we hope in this degenerate ſtate of Chriſtianity, to attain a perfection which former and latter Ages wanted, and introduce among the unmarried Clergy ſuch an uniform exemplarineſs of Continence and Chaſtity, as may promote among the Laity the great ends of Holineſs and Purity, and advance the true intereſts of the Church. It may be a laudable ambition, to ſurpaſs the Vertue of former times; but little leſs than madneſs, to attempt that which the Experience of ſo many Ages hath demonſtrated to be impoſſible.

VIII. If it be imprudent to imitate a practice, from which naturally floweth ſo many Scandals and Abuſes, no leſs unſafe is it to place this imitation upon a matter, which ſeems to have been the great Stumbling-block of Antiquity, and chief Fountain of her groſſeſt Errours. I mean Marriage, about which the many falſe Opinions that obtained in the Church, evince that moſt Chriſtians had falſe notions of the nature and inſtitution of it. And

here, not to repeat what I before observed of the generally-supposed impurity, and by some believed sinfulness of Marriage; to omit the annulling and separation of Marriages contracted betwixt Christians and Infidels, and the perpetual prohibition of Marriage to those who had done penance for Fornication; to pass by the Decree of Pope *Gregory* the First, of admitting no married man into the Church, after he hath accompanied with his Wife, till he hath washed himself with water; and the permission (*a*) given by Pope *Gregory* the Third, to all of marrying a second Wife, when the first, although alive, is disabled by sickness, age, or any accident, from performing the Duties of Marriage; and many other Decrees, Practices, and Opinions of the antient Church about Marriage, which all sober *Casuists* will allow to be gross and pernicious Errours: I will mention only a few extravagant Canons relating to the Marriage of the Clergy. The 17th Apostolick Canon, and third of the *Quinisext* Council, command, that none be admitted into the Clergy, or if admitted, that he be deposed, who hath married two Wives after Baptism, or one which hath been a Widow, or a divorced woman, or a Whore, or a Servant, or a Stage-player. The Council of *Auxerre*, in the year 578. forbid (*b*) the Widows of a Priest, Deacon, or Subdeacon, to marry after the death of their Husbands. The second Council of *Mascon*, in the year 585. extended (*c*) the same prohibition to the Widows of *Exorcists* and *Acolythi*. The Council of *Bourges*, in the year 1031. decreed, (*d*) That the Sons of Priests, Deacons, and Subdeacons, born after their Ordination, should by no means be admitted into the Clergy: *Because* (*e*) *such, and all others who are not born of lawful Marriage, are called a cursed Seed in holy Scripture.* The same Council farther commanded, (*f*) That none should give his Daughter in Marriage to a Priest, Deacon, or Subdeacon, or to their Sons: and in the next Canon forbid all to marry the Daughter of a Priest, Deacon or Sub-Deacon, or their Widows; *because* (*g*) *that would be detestable.* Here Celibacy or a perpetual abstinence is enjoyned, not only to the Clergy

(*a*) *Apud Gratian. Caus.* 32. *qu.* 7. *cap.* 18.

(*b*) Can. 22.

(*c*) Can. 16.

(*d*) Can. 8.

(*e*) *Quia tales & omnes alii qui de non legitimo conjugio sunt nati, semen maledictum in divinis Scripturis appellantur.*

(*f*) Can. 19.

(*g*) *Quia detestabile est.*

Clergy themſelves, but alſo to their Wives, Sons, and Daughters: as if either all theſe muſt be ſuppoſed to have the gift of continence; or it concerned the intereſt of the Church, they ſhould be neceſſitated to a ſingle life. Such unneceſſary cautions about the Marriage of the Clergy, and unlawful prohibition of it to their poſterity, could be no other than the effects of ſome groſs miſtakes or fooliſh ſuperſtition.

IX. It is no ſmall prejudice to the cauſe of Celibacy, that all the great Patrons and Defenders of it could not themſelves preſerve that Virginity, which they either admired or impoſed. They had not only ſuffered under, but even yielded to, the temptations of Incontinence, and could never themſelves obtain that perfection, which they recommended to the practice of mankind. In theſe men I will not ſay a ſatiety and glut of unlawful pleaſures procured a contempt of lawful enjoyments; but certainly an injudicious repentance and abhorrence of the former was prejudicial to a right eſteem of the latter. For when theſe perſons, many of whom afterwards were eminent for holineſs, reflected upon the greatneſs of their crime, and their violation of the divine laws of chaſtity, no wonder if in exaggerating the one, and ſeeking to compenſate the other, they miſplaced the guilt of their crime, by removing it from the unlawful uſe of thoſe pleaſures to the very nature of them; and then imagining no ſacrifice too great to appeaſe the divine anger, endeavoured to promote and preſerve that chaſtity in others, which they had proſtituted themſelves, and by reſtraining many from lawful pleaſures, expiate the guilt of their own unlawful enjoyments. This is manifeſt from the example of all thoſe, who were the main Authors of urging and impoſing Celibacy for the firſt 1100 years, I mean *Tertullian*, *Euſtathius*, *Heliodorus*, *Epiphanius*, St. *Hierom*, *Dunſtan*, *Hildebrand*, *Lanfranc*, and *Anſelm*; to whom we may add the Founders of the four great Monaſtick Orders in the Church of *Rome*. I begin with *Tertullian*, who acknowledgeth, (a) that in his youth he had been guilty of all the debaucheries of the age, and laboured

(a) *De ſpectac. c. 19. de Reſurrect. c. 59.*

laboured under a total corruption of manners. *Eustathius* was (*b*) six times deposed by so many several Synods, for his scandalous and enormous Vices. *Heliodorus* was (*c*) deprived of his Bishoprick by a Synod of *Thessalia*, for writing a lascivious Romance. *Epiphanius* inveighled in his youth by the artifices and lusts of the *Gnostick* Women, as himself (*d*) confesseth. St. *Hierom* acknowledgeth he had lost his Virginity (although it was for many ages celebrated by the *Roman* Church in her publick Offices) For thus he writes: (*e*) *I extoll Virginity to the skies, not because I possess it, but because I the more admire that, which I want. It is an ingenuous and modest confession to commend that in others, which your self want.* And in another place, speaking of the danger of Incontinence, to which youth is subject, *You know*, saith he, *the slippery path of youth; in which I also fell. Dunstan* was by many vehemently suspected of Incontinency; and the Adulteries of *Hildebrand*, with the Countess *Mathildis*, are insinuated by the Historians of that time. *Paul* the 14th, Abbot of St. *Albans* was (*f*) generally supposed to be the base Son of *Lanfranc*. *Anselm*, however celebrated by the Monkish Historians as an undoubted Virgin, himself confesseth and deplores the loss of his Virginity. For in an ancient Manuscript, in the King's Library at St. *James's*, are extant Twenty three Prayers of *Anselm*: of which the Twelfth (not to be found in the printed Collection of his Prayers among his Works) is entitled, *A Lamentation of the Loss of his Virginity.* Therein at large he bewails his fault, and confesseth his crime, but more especially in these words: (*a*) *O fornication, the defiler of my mind, the destroyer of my soul, whence hast thou stole upon me, miserable man! For thou my soul, perfidious to God, and adultress against Christ, voluntarily falling down from the sublimity of virginity, art plunged into the sink*

(*b*) *Sozom. l. 4. c. 24.*

(*c*) *Niceph. l. 12. c. 34.*

(*d*) *Hæres. 26. p. 99.*

(*e*) *Virginitatem in cœlum fero, non quia habeam, sed quia magis miror, quod non habeo. Ingenua & verecunda confessio est, quo ipse careas, id in aliis prædicari. Apolog. ad Pammach. Ep. 50. in fine. Scitis lubricum adolescentiæ iter, in quo & ego lapsus sum. Ad Chromat. Epist. 43.*

(*f*) *Matth. Paris, Hist. Abbat. Alban. p. 49.*

(*a*) *O fornicatio sordidatrix mentis meæ, perditrix animæ meæ, unde mihi subreptisti! — Tu namque anima mea, perfida Deo, adultera Christi, libenter de sublimitate virginitatis es demersa in barathrum fornicationis.*

ſink of fornication. Of the Founders of the four great Orders, *Francis*, by the confeſſion of *Walſingham*, was in his youth unchaſt, and indulged to himſelf the moſt licentious pleaſures; as did *Ignatius Loyola* alſo by the acknowledgement of *Ribadeneira* (*b*). As for *Benedict* and *Dominick*, if they eſcaped the unlawful embraces of Women, yet could they not avoid the violent temptations and deſires of them. For remedy of which the firſt was forced frequently to rowl his naked body upon thorns, and the latter (*c*) to whip himſelf thrice every night with an iron chain.

(*b*) *In vit. ejus.*

(*c*) *Theodoric. de Apold. in vit. ejus.*

Thus have we brought down the Hiſtory of Celibacy to the times of *Hildebrand*, or the middle of the Eleventh Age: when although the Marriage of the Clergy was once again become frequent, and connived at over all the Weſt, yet the fatal ignorance and ſtupidity of the precedent age had prepared the way to a renewed impoſition of Celibacy, by anticipating the judgments of men with falſe prejudices and notions of the nature of Marriage and Celibacy. All the miſtakes of ancient times were then reſumed and with advantage improved: and the ſuppoſition of ſome hidden impurity in the uſe of Marriage, had ſo far prevailed, that it gained belief and reception even among the married Clergy. For this I take to have been the only reaſon of that abuſe, frequent in the Ninth Age, (which *Elfric* complaineth of in his Epiſtles to *Wulfin* and *Wulfſtan*) whereby the Prieſts adminſtring the Euchariſt, communicated not themſelves. Beſides all theſe errours and miſtakes, and the miſerable ignorance and barbarity of thoſe times, which prepared the minds of men: there concurred another great reaſon, which induced the Popes to impoſe Celibacy upon the Clergy. The Popes of the Eleventh Age, eſpecially *Hildebrand*, or *Gregory* the Seventh, had formed a deſign of ſubjecting the whole Chriſtian World to the obedience of the See of *Rome*, as well in Temporals as in Spirituals. To this end nothing could be more ſubſervient than to withdraw the Clergy from the Allegiance due to their Princes and Affection to their Countries, and tye them

them up wholly to the interest of the Court of *Rome*. This could not be accomplisht while Marriage was permitted to the Clergy, since the consideration of Wives and Children endeared their Countrey to them, and were so many Pledges of Fidelity to their Natural Princes. This Obstacle therefore was to be removed, and the Clergy to be invested with a perfect liberty of blindly pursuing the dictates of the See of *Rome*. This observation may be hence confirmed, that the same *Hildebrand* endeavoured to subject Temporal Princes to the Papal power, and to deprive the Clergy of the use of Marriage. For altho some Popes of this Age attempted the imposition of Celibacy before *Hildebrand*, yet was the whole attempt designed and managed by him, who is known to have exercised an absolute Tyranny in *Rome* more than twenty years before he was made Pope.

Pope *Leo* the Ninth led the way: who although he made no formal Decree, at least not any now extent, against the Marriage of the Clergy in the West, sent Legates to *Constantinople*, in the year 1054. Cardinal *Humbert*, who fiercely contending there with the *Greeks*, both by Writings and Disputations, among other heads of accusation, charged them with the Heresie of the *Nicolaites*, for permitting Marriage to the Clergy, and pronounced an *Anathema* against them. How fooliſh and false this accusation was, is evident from what we before said touching the History of *Nicolas* the Deacon. The cause of the *Greek* Church was defended by *Nicetas Pectoratus*, a Regular Priest, who, besides the common right of mankind, the divine permission, and the necessity of it, alledgeth the constant Practice and Tradition of the *Greek* Church in all precedent Ages in favour of the Clergies Marriage. In the year 1056. the Council of *Tholouse* was held by the command and by the Legates of Pope *Victor* the Second, which commanded (*a*) Priests, Deacons, and all other Clergymen possessing Ecclesiastical Dignities, to abstain from their Wives, upon pain of Deprivation and Excommunication. The next year Pope *Stephen* the Ninth held (*b*) several Synods at *Rome* against the

(*a*) *Can.* 7.

(*b*) *Leo Ostiens. Chron. Cassin. l.* 2. *c.* 98.

the Marriage of the Clergy; whoſe Acts are loſt. The Clergy generally deſpiſed theſe Cenſures and Canons, and retained their Wives in oppoſition to them. This obliged the Popes to invent and make uſe of new ſtratagems. None could be more effectual than to forbid the Laity to hear Maſs and receive the Sacraments from the hands of the married Clergy. This was indeed the very formal Hereſie of the *Euſtathians* condemned of old by the Council of *Gangra*; but the advantage which it might bring to the See of *Rome*, did abundantly in their eſteem compenſate the danger and contagion of its errour. Pope *Nicolas* the Second, therefore in a Synod held at *Rome*, in the year 1059. decreed, (*a*) that none ſhould hear the Maſs of a Prieſt, whom he undoubtedly knew to have a Concubine, (for ſuch the impoſers of Celebacy in this Age would have the Wives of the Clergy to be eſteemed) or a Houſe-keeper. And that whatſoever Prieſts, Deacons or Subdeacons after the Conſtitution of *Leo* the Ninth, concerning the chaſtity of the Clergy, had openly married a Concubine, or put her not away when married, ſhould be depoſed from his Office and loſe his Revenues. In this Canon it may be obſerved, that a general and uninterrupted uſe of Marriage by the Clergy is acknowledged to have obtained in the Weſt immediately before the Conſtitution of *Leo* the Ninth, and that the univerſal oppoſition of the Clergy to the impoſition of Celibacy had forced the impoſers of it to mitigate the Penalties of Marriage, and inflict only deprivation upon the married Clergy. This Canon was renewed and confirmed by the Council of *Tours* (*b*) in the year 1060. by the *Roman* Synod (*c*) under *Alexander* the Second in the year 1063. and the latter part of it by the Council *Roan* of (*d*) in the year 1072. But all theſe Decrees were only the raſh efforts of a furious zeal for Celibacy, and met with no ſucceſs or obedience, till reinforced by *Hildibrand*, now become Pope *Gregory* the Seventh, whoſe violent *genius* left neither any force nor fraud unattempted to compleat his deſigns. He in a Synod held at *Rome* in the year 1074. commanded, (*e*) that the

(*a*) *Can.* 3.

(*b*) *Can.* 6.

(*c*) *Can.* 3.

(*d*) *Can.* 15.

(*e*) *Can.* 3, 4. *Lambirt. Schafnab. ad Ann.* 1074.

the Clergy should either put away their Wives, or be deposed: and that none for the future should be ordained, who vowed not perpetual continence and a single life. But *when the Clergy chose rather to lye under the sentence of Anathema* (as *Simeon Dunelmensis* (*f*) and *Hoveden* (*g*) relate) or (as *Bromton* (*h*) hath it) *when they contemned his censures*, he renewed the next year the Decrees of his predecessours, that none should hear Mass from nor communicate with a married Priest. These Constitutions he vigorously endeavoured to put in execution by force of Arms, Threats, and Flattery, thundering out Excommunications against those Bishops who blindly employed not their whole power and interest to execute his commands. By these violent methods he obtained the confirmation of his Decrees from the Council of *Poicton* (*i*) in the year 1078. of *Ilchamne* (*k*) the same year of *Quintilineburg* (*l*) in the year 1085. and many other Provincial Councils. Most of the succeeding Popes pursued the same Design, and many Councils seconded them in it, as that of *Adelphi* (*m*) in the year 1089. *Clermont* (*n*) 1095. and others not worthy a particular relation.

(*f*) De gest. Reg. Angl.
(*g*) Annal. par. 1. p. 262.
(*h*) Chron. ad Ann. 1074.
(*i*) Can. 9.
(*k*) Can. 3.
(*l*) Can. 3.
(*m*) Can. 2.
(*n*) Can. 9.

The force and violence which these Popes and Bishops used to separate the Clergy from their Wives, is known to all who have conversed in the Histories of those times. But their frauds and impostures, gross ignorance and trifling prejudices deserve a more particular consideration. The mistakes and errors of precedent Ages, which they adopted and improved, need no repetition. I will insist upon those only which were peculiar to this and the former Age. An universal ignorance had fitted the minds of men to be abused and deceived; and the Patrons of Celibacy failed not to make use of this advantage. They pretended the Marriage of the Clergy to be in it self null and void; and therefore in their Decrees and Canons gave to the Wives of the Clergy no other name than that of Concubines; and ever termed their Marriage, *Adultery, Concubinacy, and* (*o*) *the inveterate Disease of Fornication of the Clergy*. Many had before

(*o*) *Inveteratum morbum fornicationis Clericorum. Gregor. VII. l. 2. Epist. 30.*

before forbid Marriage to the Clergy; but none had yet dared to call the uſe of it Fornication, which *Clemens Alex.* (*b*) affirms to be *an oppoſition of the Law and Goſpel, and no other than downright Blaſphemy.* Then was the Third Canon of the Council of *Nice* alledged in againſt the Marriage of the Clergy; and all the ſpurious Decretals of ancient Popes, the late Forgeries of *Iſidore Mercator*, produced in favour of the impoſition of Celibacy: which fraud is at this day continued by the Writers of the Church of *Rome*, who are not aſhamed to cite the Epiſtles of Pope *Calixtus* the Firſt, the *Roman* Council under Pope *Silveſter*, the Acts of *Paul* and *Teela*, the Hiſtory of *Abdias*, and many other ſpurious Writtings, the product of latter Ages or fooliſh Impoſtors. Another artifice was then ſet on foot, which nothing but the higheſt impudence could deviſe or maintain, and that was to accuſe the *Greek* Church of impoſing Marriage upon the Clergy, pretending the 13th Canon of *Quiniſext* Council had decreed none ſhould be admitted into Prieſts Orders, who had not firſt married a Wife. This calumny alſo is eſpouſed by the preſent Writers of the Church of *Rome*, and particularly *Bellarmin* (*c*), who could not but know the falſeneſs of it, and that Marriage is no where made neceſſary to the Clergy, but in the Church of *Ruſſia*. The imputation of Hereſie to the defenders of the Clergies Marriage was ſtarted in this Age, and the opprobrious titles of *Nicolaites* faſtned on them. This new Hereſie is thus deſcribed by *Petrus Damiani*, the great Agent of the Popes in the cauſe of Celibacy.

(*b*) Τὴν δὲ γαμικὴν τῶν ἀνδρῶν συνουσίαν ἐπὶ τέκνων γενέσει μόνον ἐπιτρέπουσιν ἐκκλησιαστικοὶ νόμοι· ἐπὶ δὲ τοῦ τὴν ἡδονὴν ἐκκόπτειν, ἀλλὰ μὴ τὴν ἐπιθυμίαν, ἀνδρὸς καὶ γυναικὸς ἡ κοινωνία ἀλλοτρία. Strom. l. 3.

(*c*) *De Clric.* l. 1. c. 19.

(b) The Nicolaites are thoſe Clergymen, who againſt the rule of eccleſiaſtical chaſtity accompany with Women: who then truly become fornicators, when they adde Marriage to this unlawful Society; and are they deſervedly called Nicolaites, when they defend, as lawful, this mortal Hereſie.

(d) Nicolaitæ autem dicuntur Clrici, qui contra caſtitatis eccleſiaſt. regulam feminis admiſcentur. Qui planè tunc fornicatores ſunt, quùm ſuadi commercii copulas ineunt: tunc Nicolaitæ jurè vocantur, quùm hanc letiferam peſtem velut ex authoritate defendunt. Epiſt. ad Hildebrand. & Joannem in vitâ Opp. præfixâ.

Laſtly, to crown theſe Impoſtures, Miracles were forged, as the moſt proper artifice to impoſe upon mankind in a

superstitious Age, when that cause was triumphant, not which was most rational, but whose followers could by a pretence of Miracles delude the World with greater art and impudence. Hence the admired Fable of the 1100 Virgin Martyrs, the imposture (a) of the Crucifix in the Synod of *Canterbury*, openly giving its Vote for *Dunstan*, against the married Clergy; and (b) the whole Colledge of married Priests of *Elingen* turned into Eels, when by the favour of the Emperour they retained their Wives against the threats and curses of the Pope, with a thousand other ridiculous tales which might terrifie the married Clergy, amuse the credulous multitude, and advance the interest of the greedy Monks; who then built their fortunes apace upon the ruins of the secular Clergy. But to give an evident testimony of the Frauds and Impostures which promoted Celibacy in this Age, I will instance in an Anonymous Author of this time, whom the Collectors of the Councils thought worthy to insert into their Edition; and who, if I be not mistaken, was the first that ever dared affirm the Celibacy of the Clergy to be of Divine or Apostolical Institution. This Writer in an Apology for the Decrees of *Hildebrand*, published in the *Roman* Synod, *Anno* 1074. pleads the cause of the Imposition of Celibacy. In his Plea he alledgeth the Third Canon of *Nice*, the First of *Neocæsarea*, and the Decretals of *Silvester*. Whatsoever is said by St. *Hierom*, or other ancient Fathers, against the Housekeepers, he applies to the Wives of the Clergy. Affirms, *Nicolas* the *Heresiarch* to have been the first Author and Introducer of the Clergies Marriage. Reckons *Paulus Samosatenus* (condemned and deposed by the Synod of *Antioch* for his scandalous use of Housekeepers) among the defenders of their Marriage. Urgeth all the spurious Decretals of ancient Popes, *Alexander* the First, *Clement*, and others, and doubts not to affirm from *Clemens Alex.* that *Nicolas* the Deacon prostituted his Wife to the lust of all persons; whenas that learned Father relates the direct contrary, as we before shewed.

(a) *Polydor. Virgil. Hist. Angl l.6. in fin.*
(b) *Capgrave.*

Concil. Tom. X. p. 315.

No

No wonder then, if amidſt ſo groſs ignorance and ſhameleſs impoſtures, when the intereſt of the See of *Rome* required, and the ambition of the whole Monaſtick Order promoted it; when forged Decretals were received, and fooliſh Miracles believed; when antient Canons were ſecurely falſified, and the practice of other Churches miſ-repreſented; when the Biſhops and ruling part of the Clergy were either taken out of Monaſteries, or otherwiſe at the devotion of the Court of *Rome*; Celibacy triumphed, and the Marriage of the Clergy was decried and run down. The lamentable and ſcandalous effects of theſe proceedings, are at large related by the Hiſtorians of thoſe times; which I will here only briefly touch. *Matthew Paris* (*c*) and *Radulphus de Diceto* (*d*), having related Pope *Gregory* the Seventh's prohibition of Marriage to the Clergy, uſe theſe words: *Hence aroſe ſo great a ſcandal, that not even in the time of any Hereſie had the Church ever been divided with a more grievous Schiſm; one Party contending for Juſtice, the other againſt it. Beſides, few of the Clergy preſerving Continence, ſome diſſembling their Luſt either for Gain or Vain-glory; but many aggravating their Incontinence with Perjury and continual Adultery: The Laity refuſed to receive the Sacraments from married Prieſts, burnt the Tythes due to them, and oftentimes trod under foot the Body of our Lord conſecrated by them, and oftimes voluntarily ſpilt the conſecrated Blood upon the ground.* In *Germany*, as *Nauclerus* (*a*) relateth, upon the prohibition of hearing the Maſſes of married Prieſts, the Laity were forced to adminiſter the Sacraments themſelves, and baptize their own Children. This ſcandal aroſe much higher in *England*, where when the ſame prohibition was by the procurement of *Anſelm* enacted in a National Synod, all Divine Service was, for want of unmarried Prieſts, generally diſcontinued in Parochial Churches, and the Church-doors overgrown with Thorns. As for the ſcandalous Incontinence and uncleanneſs of the Clergy, that is not much to be admired, being the natural effect of impoſed Celibacy. But it may be juſtly wondred, that while the Pope engaged with ſo much violence a-

(*c*) *Hiſt. Major ad an.* 1074.

(*d*) *Abbreviat. Chron. ad an.* 1074.

(*a*) *Chronograph. vol. 3. generat.* 37.

gainſt

gainst the Marriage of the Clergy, they willingly overlook'd and conniv'd at their Fornications and prodigious Impurities of Life. This *Petrus Damiani* (*b*) himself assures us, and affirms it to be *the custom of the Church of Rome*, in his time, *severely to exact other points of Ecclesiastical Discipline, but to connive at and dispense with the Lust of the Clergy*: which was then become so brutal and notorious, that he writ a Book, entituled *Gomorrhianus*, particularly upon that subject. This alone might justifie what we before observed, that the Church of *Rome* imposed Celibacy upon the Clergy, not for increase of Piety, or advancement of Purity, but only for temporal ends, and secular advantages.

(*b*) *Epist. ad Nicolaum II.*

However, the Marriage of the Clergy wanted not Defenders in this Age to maintain its right against the calumnies and tyranny of its Adversaries. The Decrees of the Popes were condemned by some Councils, universally opposed by the Clergy of all Nations, and gained not success till a long and sharp contention. In the year 1061. the Bishops of *Lombardy*, by the instigation of *Gerbert* Bishop of *Parma*, met in a Council at *Basil*, wherein they annulled the Decrees of Pope *Nicolas*, and decreed, That no Pope should be obeyed, who would not condescend and yield to their Infirmities. About the same time the Clergy of *Leon* being urged by *Petrus Damiani* to put away their Wives, produced in their defence a Decree of the Council of *Tribur*, which permitted the use of Marriage to the Clergy. Several Councils were held at *Tribur* in this Age; of whose Acts we have little or no account left, and therefore cannot determine the time of this Council. The Synod of *Winchester* we shall mention afterwards, when we come to the Affairs of *England*. In the year 1080. *Gregory* the Seventh was condemned and deposed in the Council of *Brixia*, as well for other crimes, as *because he had promoted Divorces between married persons*, (so the words of the Historian (*a*)) or had violently separated the married Clergy from their Wives. To these we may add the Council of *Beneventum*, held eleven years after by *Urban* the Second, which permitted

Damian. de Legat. ad Henric.

Ad. Epist. ad Cunipertum.

(*a*) *Conradus Ursperg. Chron.*

permitted Marriage to Subdeacons, as we before observed: and the great *Lateran* Council under *Innocent* the Third, of which more hereafter.

If many Bishops disliked, annulled, and mitigated the Papal Decrees of Celibacy; with much more violence, although with less authority, did the inferiour Clergy oppose this unjust Imposition. Particularly when *Hildebrand* published his Decrees, the Historian saith, (b) *The Clergy were in a rage, crying out, the man was plainly a Heretick, and maintainer of mad Opinions; who forgetting those words of Christ, All cannot receive this, and he that cannot contain, let him marry, would by a violent exaction compel men to live the life of Angels; and while he stopped the wonted course of Nature, let loose the Reins to a promiscuous Lust.* Sigebert the learned Monk of *Gemblach*, writ to *Henry* Archdeacon of *Liege*, a peculiar Treatise or Apology *against those who slandered or condemned the Masses of married Priests*, (as himself (c) tells us;) which is now lost. The same Author in another place giveth (d) this judgment of the Decree of Pope *Gregory*, That *it was made by an unheard-of Example, and inconsiderate prejudice against the Doctrine of the Holy Fathers*. *Matthew Paris* (e) useth the same words. In *Germany* the Clergy opposed the Papal Decrees with great courage and animosity, rejected the perswasion of their Bishops, wanted little of tearing in pieces the Popes Legate who proposed to them the imposition of Celibacy; and when at last by the violence of their Adversaries forced to submit, chused rather to quit their Office than their Wives. In *France* the Clergy of *Leon* rejected the Sollicitations of *Petrus Damiani*. Of *England* we shall speak more largely afterwards. In *Italy*, *Damianus* being sent to *Milan* by *Nicolas* the Second, in the year 1059. to subject that See to the Obedience of the Church of *Rome*, and the Clergy to the Yoak of Celibacy, could effect neither, without great commotions. For as himself writ back to the Pope, the people and Clergy contended with great heat, that the *Ambrosian*

(b) *Erundebant Clerici, hominem planè hæreticum & vesani dogmatis esse clamitantes, qui contra sermonem Christi, &c.* Lambertus Schafnaburg. ad ann. 1074.

(c) *Catal. Script. Eccl. in fine.*

(d) *Novo exemplo & inconsiderato præjudico contra SS. Patrum sententiam.* Chron. ad an. 1074.

(e) *Hist. ad an.* 1074.

See

See owed no Obedience to the Bishop of *Rome*, and that the Law of Celibacy was unjust and intolerable.

(f) *Tom.* 2. *p.* 466.

Mr. *Fox* in his English Martyrology (*f*) hath published two antient Latin Apologies for the Marriage of the Clergy, under the name of *Volusianus* Bishop of *Carthage*, both directed to Pope *Nicolai*. The first, which is short, is nothing else but the Epistle of *Huldericus*, before mentioned, which hath been often published. The second, is far longer, was never elsewhere published; and seems to have been the Remonstrance or Apology of all the married Clergy of the Western Church, offered to Pope *Nicolas* the Second, and the other Bishops of the Church, who endeavoured to impose Celibacy, presently after the *Roman* Synod, in the year 1059. which forbid the Laity to hear Mass from the married Clergy. The Author of it writes far more elegantly, and argues more strongly than *Huldericus*: and indeed, abating some allegorical interpretations of Scripture, the peculiar Genius of those Ages, it may be accounted a rational and exact Treatise. The sum of it is this: That Continence is the peculiar Gift of God, not bestowed upon all; which therefore cannot be commanded. That no Vow or Gift is grateful to God, but what is voluntary, not compelled. That it savoured of Judaism, to impose such burdens upon men under the Gospel. That the Governours of the Church were not invested with an arbitrary power, nor could lay such grievous impositions on the Clergy, against their will. That this Yoak was imposed for vain ostentation, and worldly ends. That although many of the inferiour Clergy were awed by Force, Authority, Threats, or Anathema's, to submit to this Imposition, yet they unwillingly underwent the burden of Celibacy, and hated the cross laid upon them, because they bore it rather to their destruction than salvation. That from the imposition of Celibacy, greater inconveniencies arose; Sodomy, Adultery, Fornication, Incest, and other horrid Lusts. That Marriage is the only Remedy assigned by God to incontinent persons; which they who contemn and affect a greater shew of perfection, commonly fall into precipices.

cipices. That the Apoſtle commandeth, that to avoid Fornication, every man ſhould have his own Wife; and expreſly teacheth, all have not the Gift of Continence. That the Apoſtles advice of Virginity, was temporary, himſelf profeſſing that he caſt no ſnare upon us. That as for themſelves, they profeſſed they could not contain without the uſe of Marriage, and therefore by the Precept of the Apoſtle had a right to marry. That it was a vain and falſe pretence, that this Indulgence was given by the Apoſtle only to the Laity, and not to the Clergy. That the Yoak of Celibacy was unlawful and intolerable, condemned of old by *Dionyſius Corinthius*, and *Paphnutius*. *Lay not therefore, we beſeech you, this heavy burden upon us, which we are not able to bear; nor violate the Reverence due to Holy Orders and the ſacred Myſteries, for our ſakes. Certainly, you render both contemptible in the ſight of men, whilſt you forbid the Sacraments to be received from our hands. A Prohibition directly contrary to the antient Canons; which define, that the Sacraments loſe not their efficacy by the unworthineſs of him that adminiſters them. By theſe Authorities and Reaſons you ought to be perſwaded, and neither remove us from the ſacred Office, nor deprive the Laity of the benefit of the Sacraments.* Concluding with a proteſtation, that they could not contain without Marriage, nor obtain Continence any otherwiſe than by the peculiar Gift of God.

Thus the married Clergy wanted neither learning nor courage to defend the juſtice of their Cauſe, and however they were overborn by the violence of the Court of *Rome*, and prevailing intereſt of the Monaſtick Order, yet many of them retained their Wives for ſome Ages after the times of *Hildebrand*; although from his Popedom the marriage of the Clergy gradually decreaſed, and at laſt was born down by an univerſal Celibacy. For ſome time after that, the Prieſts of *Germany publickly cohabited with their Wives*, ſaith *Aventinus*, (a) *as other Chriſtians did, and begat Children; as appears from the Records of Grants made by them to Churches, Prieſts, or Monks; wherein their Wives by name ſubſcribe as Witneſſes together with their Husbands,*

(a) *Annal. Boiorum lib* 5. *p.* 564. *edit. Ingolſtad.* 1554.

Presbytrissæ. *Husbands, and are called by the honest name of Priestesses.* This constancy of the Clergy in retaining their Wives, was the only reason of the frequent renovations of the Laws of Celibacy by the Popes and Councils of the 12th and 13th Ages. These Laws seem not to have been introduced into *Dalmatia*, till the year 1199. when a Council being held there by the Popes Legates, this Canon (*b*) was made: *Whereas the Priests of God ought to live continently, they are said to hold both their Wives and Churches in the parts of* Dalmatia *and* Dioclia. *Wherefore we enact, That Clergy-men having Wives married before Ordination, live with them and resign their Benefices; but that those who have Wives married after Ordination, dismiss their Wives, and retain their Benefices.* To pass by other Councils, I will produce only the great *Lateran* Council under *Innocent* the Third, in the year 1215. which not only allowed the Marriage of the Clergy, when contracted, to be valid, but also permitted Marriage to the Clergy of some Provinces, wherein the Laws of Celibacy had not yet been received. The first appeareth from the 31 Canon, conceived in these words: *To abolish a great Corruption, which hath been introduced in divers Churches, we straightly forbid, that the Sons of Prebendaries, especially their Bastard Sons, be made Prebendaries in the secular Churches, wherein their Fathers were instituted.* Where by excluding especially the Bastard Sons of the Clergy, it is acknowledged that their Children born in Marriage are not Bastards. The latter is no less evident from the 14th Canon, which enjoyning Continence to the Clergy, adds this Proviso: *But whereas many of the Clergy, according to the custom of their Countries, have not renounced their Wives, if any of these commit Fornication or Adultery, let them be more severely punished, because they can make use of lawful Marriage.* The latter Writers of the Church of *Rome*, to elude the Authority of a Council, so much reverenced by them, declaring in favour of the Clergies Marriage, would have this clause understood of the Greek Clergy; but produce not the least shew of Reason for their pretence. No mention is made of the Greek Clergy either before or after: nor did the Fathers

(*b*) Can. 2.

Ne Canonicorum filii, maximè spurii. Can. 31.

Gravius puniantur, cùm legitimo matrimonio uti possint. Can. 14.

Fathers of the Council, in forming this Canon, any more dream of them than of the Clergy of the *Abyſſine* Church. Laſtly, almoſt the whole 17th Title of the firſt Book of Decretals of *Gregory* the Ninth, is made up of Epiſtles written by *Alexander* the Second, to the Biſhops of *England*, about admitting or not admitting the Sons of Prieſts into the Benefices of their Fathers, without any intermediate Succeſſour. In theſe Epiſtles Baſtardy is no-where objected to the Sons of the Clergy, but only the danger which may accrew to the Church, if Eccleſiaſtical Benefices ſhould deſcend like a Lay Inheritance from Father to Son. And this danger the Pope ſometimes diſpenſed with. For it is manifeſt from the 9th Chapter, that he had given a Faculty to the Archbiſhop of *York*, of inducting the Sons of the Clergy into the Benefices of their Fathers, immediately after the death or ceſſion of the latter. The 12th Chapter hath theſe words: *Clement* III. *to the Archbiſhop of* Caſſels. *Whereas your Brotherhood inquired of us, the Sons of Prieſts* (or Biſhops) *may be promoted to Holy Orders, if they be adorned with knowledge and ſobriety; know that if they be born of lawful Marriage, and there be no other Canonical Impediment, they may lawfully aſcend to Holy Orders.* Where it is manifeſt, that the Sons of which Pope *Clement* ſpeaks, were born after the Ordination of their Fathers; for none was ever ſo mad as to doubt whether the Sons of Clergy-men born before their Ordination, were capable of Holy Orders. But if any ſcruple remains, the 14th Chapter will remove it, which is this: *We underſtand that* N. *begotten in Prieſthood, born and conceived of a lawful Wife, deſires to be admitted into Holy Orders. Wherefore let it be done* Thus did Popes, General Councils, and the practice of the Church, after the times of *Hildebrand*, acknowledge the lawfulneſs of the Clergies Marriage, and connive at it; till the Papal ambition drawing the diſpoſition of all Eccleſiaſtical Preferments to themſelves, and allowing the uſe of Concubines to the Clergy, Marriage was at laſt forced to yield to the more advantageous and eaſie way of Fornication.

An à potificibus generati valtant ad ſacros ordines promoveri — Si ex legitimo matrimonio ſunt procreati, licitè poſſunt.

In Sacerdotio genitus, de uxore legitimâ natus & conceptus.

It remains that we speak somewhat more particularly of the state of Celibacy in the Church of *England*, which more peculiarly concerns us, and probably the last of all the Churches in the West, submitted to the imposition of it. The Church of *England* being no part of the *Roman* Patriarchate, nor intervening by her Bishops in those Western Councils which enjoyned Celibacy, took no notice of, nor gave any obedience to the Decrees of Popes, or Constitutions of Councils in that matter; but allowed an uninterrupted freedom of Marriage to the whole body of her Clergy, till the end of the tenth Age, and to the far greater part of them till the beginning of the twelfth Age. *Elfric* (*a*) indeed, a great Zealot of the Monastick Order, in which he was brought up, disliked and opposed the Marriage of the Clergy, yet so that from his words it is manifest the Marriage of the Clergy generally obtained in *England*, and himself rather wished than hoped for an abolition of it. In opposing it he joyned the prejudices of Antiquity to the impostures of latter Ages. From hence he received the poor pretence of the prohibition of Marriage to the Clergy by the Council of *Nice*, in the third Canon: from thence his detestation of second Marriages, against which he had conceived such unreasonable prejudice, that he forbid (*a*) Priests to be present at the solemnities of those Marriages, or even to bestow a blessing on them. Nay, the Clergy of the Church of *England* enjoyed at that time so great a liberty of Marriage, that even the Monks enjoyed the same freedom: and, as the old Manuscript Chronicle of *Winchester* relateth, (*b*) all the Monasteries of *England*, except *Glastenbury* and *Abendon*, were nothing else but Colledges of married Priests, till King *Edgar* drove them thence, and planted Monks in them. This was done by King *Edgar* about the year 974. at the instigation, and by the artifices of *Dunstan*, who held divers Synods for that purpose, and had sharp disputes with the married Clergy possessing the Monasteries: where his frequent recurring to tricks and impostures, related by the Monkish Historians under the name of Miracles, manifest that Reason and Justice

(*a*) *Epist. ad Wulfin. Episc. Concil. Tom. 9. p. 1003.*

(*b*) *Ibid. Can. 9.*

(*b*) *Apud Spelman. Concil. Anglic. Tom. 1. p. 434.*

Justice failed him, and that in both he was overpowered by the married Clergy. But the favour of the Prince gave to *Dunstan* the advantage of obtaining his design, who, as *Malmsbury* relateth, (c) when he gave the Clergy their choice, either to quit their Wives, or their Monasteries, forsook their Places, and left them empty to the Monks. *Alfeus* indeed, Prince of *Mercia*, drove out the Monks again, and replaced the married Clergy; but they soon lost their recovered possession with the fall of that Prince. However, this Violence of *Edgar* and Constitutions of *Dunstan* touched not the Secular Clergy, whether Parochial Priests, or Prebendaries of Cathedral and Collegiate Churches. They yet enjoyed the use of Marriage with no less perfect freedom than before. And therefore among King *Edgar*'s Canons one is, (d) that *if a Mass-Priest commits Fornication, or violate his Marriage, be fast* 10 *years, and always bewail his crime; if a Deacon,* 7 *years; if an inferiour Clergyman,* 6 *years; if a Layman,* 5 *years.* Not only the Secular Clergy, but even many Regulars, who lived separately out of Monasteries, enjoyed then the benefit of Marriage; (as many Nuns do (e) at this day in the *Abyssine Church*) whence Sir *Henry Spelman* (f) observeth, that their Wives are frequently called *Monachæ* and *Moniales*, Nuns.

(c) *De Gest. Pontif. Angl. l.* 1.

(d) *Can.* 30. *apud Lambardum.*

(e) *Alarez. Abyssine Church.*

(f) *Concil. Anglic. Tom. I. p.* 530.

Afterwards Pope *Gregory* the Seventh imposing Celibacy upon the whole Clergy, and seconding his imposition with reiterated commands to all Bishops to execute his Decrees, *Lanfranc* Archbishop of *Canterbury* endeavoured to introduce Celibacy into the Church of *England*. But perceiving the attempt to be impossible, by reason of the constant and unanimous opposition of the Clergy, he was contented in the Council of *Winchester*, in the year 1076. to make this Decree only. (g) *Let no Prebendary have a Wife. But of the Priests, who live in Towns and Villages, those who have Wives shall not be compelled to put them away, those who have not, shall be forbidden to marry any.* Thus *Lanfranc* pre-

(g) *Nullus Canonicus uxorem habeat. Sacerdotum vero in castellis vel in vicis habitantium habentes uxores non cogantur ut dimittant, non habentes interdicantur ut habeant. Concil. Tom. X. p.* 351.

prepared the way for the more resolute undertakings of his successour *Anselm*: who, not contented with a partial Celibacy, attempted to debar the whole body of the Clergy from the use of Marriage, which they had hitherto enjoyed.

So common and general was the Marriage of the Clergy in the *Church of England* at that time, that Pope *Pascal* the Second, in an Epistle (*a*) to *Anselm*, giving him a Dispensation to admit the Sons of the Clergy into Holy Orders, assigns this reason of it; *because there is so great a number of this kind in the Kingdom of* England, *that they make up the greater and better part of the Clergy.* And indeed many great and illustrious Members of the Clergy, the sons of Priests, who lived at this time in *England*, may be produced out of History. *Herebertus Losinga*, Bishop of *Norwich*, was (*b*) the son of *Robert Losinga* a Clergyman, afterwards Abbot of *Winchester*. *Rithmarch* was (*c*) son and successour of *Sulgheim*, Bishop of St. *Davids*. *Thomas*, Archbishop of *York*, was (*d*) the son of a *Norman* Priest, as also (*d*) his brother, *Samson*, Bishop of *Worcester*, whose son, *Thomas*, succeeded (*d*) his Uncle in the Archbishoprick of *York*. *Henry*, Archdeacon of *Huntington*, the Historian, was the son of *Nicolas*, Priest of *Lincoln*, who for his great Piety and Learning was called, (*e*) *The Star of the Clergy*. *Richard*, Archdeacon of *Coventry*, was the son and successour of *Robert*, Bishop of *Chester*, (or of *Coventry* and *Lichfield*, which See was then placed at *Chester*) upon which *Radulphus de Diceto* maketh this observation: (*f*) *Not therefore either from Sacred Orders, or from Parochial Cures, or from Bishopricks, or from the Popedom it self, are the Sons of the Clergy to be debarred if they be of an honest life.* It cannot be here imagined, that all these persons were born before the ordination of their Fathers. For first Clergymen were then ordained young; and then the contrary can be plainly demonstrated of many of them. For *Eadmerus* (*g*) relates, that *Lanfranc* going to *Rome* in the year 1071. im-

(*a*) *Quia in anglorum regno tanta hujusmodi plenitudo est, ut major & melior Clericorum pars in hâc specie constatur, apud Eadmer. Hist. Nov. l. 4. p. 91.*

(*b*) *Malmsbur. de gest. Pontif. Angl. l. 2.*

(*c*) *Godwinus de Præsul. Angl. p. 605.*

(*d*) *Id. par. 2. p. 23.*

(*e*) *Stella Cleri. Hen. Huntind. Hist. l. 7.*

(*f*) *Non igitur vel à sacris ordinibus, vel à parochialibus curis, vel ab ecclesiis cathedralibus, vel etiam ab ipso papatu filii sacerdotum, si probabilis vitæ fuerint, sunt arcendi. Imag. Histor. ad Ann. 1161.*

(*g*) *Hist. Nov. l. 1. p. 7.*

impleaded *Thomas* Archbishop of *York*, and *Remigius* Bishop of *Lincoln*, before the Pope, that neither of them were canonically promoted to their Bishopricks; because they were the sons of Priests, and consequently made incapable of Holy Orders by the Canons. Which incapacity was never extended to the sons of the Clergy, born before their ordination. Besides the learned *Selden* (b) observes, there was no such express Canon then made, nor ever heard of, before the Council of *Clermont* in the year 1095. and therefore the incapacity of the sons of the Clergy to Holy Orders could arise only from their supposed bastardy, being the fruits of the use of Marriage after ordination, which the *Hildebrandine Popes* and *Councils* had defined to be fornication.

(b) *Spicileg. ad Eadmer. p.* 195.

This was the state of the Clergies Marriage in the *Church of England*, till the times of *Anselm*, who being educated in a Monastery, and a dependant of the *Court of Rome*, endeavoured to introduce the Papal Laws of Celibacy into *England*. His attempts of this kind I will represent in the words of our Historians. *Henry de Knyghton* (i) saith, Anselm *forbid Wives to the Clergy at* Leicester *in the year* 1102. *which before were not forbidden to them.* Simon Dunelmensis, (a) *In the year* 1102. *Concubines* (or Wives) *were forbidden to Priests in the Synod of* London. *Whence many of them shut up the doors of their Churches, omitting all Divine Service.* Henry Huntindon (b), *In the year* 1102. Anselm *forbid Wives to the Priests. Which seemed most chast to some, to others dangerous, lest while they affected a purity beyond their power, they should fall into horrible uncleanness, to the great scandal of the Christian Religion.* *Matthew Paris* (c) repeateth very near the same words. The same prohibition was (d) renewed by *Anselm* in a Synod in the year 1108. In the year 1125. *John*, Cardinal of *Crema*, was sent into *England* by the Pope upon the same design, who, holding a Synod at *London*, perswaded the Clergy, in a set speech, to dismiss their Wives, and live continently; but he being caught (e) that very night in the act of fornication, was dismissed with shame. In the year 1129. *a great Council was held at*

(i) *Prius non prohibitas. De Event. Angl. l.* 2. *c.* 8.

(a) *Hist. de gest. Reg. Angl. ad Ann.* 1102.

(b) *Histor. l.* 7.

(c) *Hist. ad Ann.* 1102.

(d) *Simeon Dunelm. ad Ann.* 1108.

(e) *Huntindon, l.* 7. *Hoveden, Annal. par.* 1. *p.* 274.

at London, (to use *Matthew Paris*, (f) and *Bromton's* (g) words) *wherein Concubines* (or Wives) *were forbidden to the Clergy, and the dissolution of the whole matter left to King Henry. Which thing ended afterwards with great disgrace. For the King took an infinite Sum of Money of the Priests, to redeem their Wives. Then the Bishops repented of the power granted by them to the King, when it was too late.*

(f) *Hist. ad Ann.* 1129.
(g) *Chron. ad Ann.* 1129.

Thus the King, by selling Licences to the married Clergy, defeated all the Decrees of those Synods. The same had (h) *William Rufus* before done in respect of the married Prebendaries, after the prohibition of *Lanfranc*. Which made the Author of the *Saxon* History of *Peterborough* (i) say of these Councils of *Anselm* and others against the Marriage of the Clergy, *All these Councils availed nothing. And the Clergy, by the favour of the King, enjoyed their Wives, as they did before.* This may be further confirmed from the frequent repetion of this prohibition in subsequent Synods, which would have been unnecessary, if the Decrees of former Councils had been received and observed. In the year 1138. the Decree of Pope *Gregory* was (k) renewed in the Synod of *London*. In the year 1175. it was enacted (l) in the Council of *Westminster*, that *whosoever in the degree of Subdeacon, and upwards, contracted Marriage, should leave their Wives; although unwilling and refusing.* And indeed *Anselm* himself in an Epistle (m) to *Brunulphus*, complains, that notwithstanding his frequent prohibitions the King still suffered the Clergy to enjoy their Wives as freely as they did in his Father's and *Lanfranc's* times. The Clergy yet retained the use of Marriage for some Ages in the *Church of England*, although not with so much freedom, nor in so great number, as before the times of *Anselm*. In the Appendix (n) to the Third *Council of Lateran*, in the year 1179. may be found many Epistles of *Alexander* the Third to the Bishops of *England*; from which it appeareth, that an infinite number of the Clergy then in *England* had Wives, and even married them after ordination. And the Pope himself doth in some measure allow their Marriage, by decreeing (o), that *if Subdeacons contract Marriage,*

(h) *Henr. Knyghton, l. 2. c. 7.*
(i) *Apud Spelman. Concil. Angl. Tom. II. p.* 36.
(k) *Ricardus Hagustal. de gest. Steph. Regis. Gervas. Tilber. Chron.*
(l) *Gervas. Tilber. Chron. ad Ann.* 1175.
(m) *Lib.* 3. *Ep.* 110.
(n) *Concil. Tom. X. p.* 1633.
(o) *Can.* 4.

riage, if they were before such persons, as it might be feared, lest instead of one they should abuse many women, their Marriage should be dissembled, and their Cohabitation with their Wives connived at: because a less evil is to be tolerated, that a greater may be avoided. Which reason will equally agree to all Orders of the Clergy. In the beginning of the Thirteenth Age *Innocent* the Third writ (a) to the Bishop of *Norwich*, that he understood many Clergymen of his Diocess contracted Marriage and retained their Benefices. The Synod of *London*, in the year 1237. complains (b), that many Clergymen privately contracted Marriage, and retained their Wives. Three years after the Synod of *Worcester* commands (c) the Archdeacons to inquire after married Priests. Towards the end of the Age, *John Peacham*, Archbishop of *Canterbury*, published a Constitution (d), that the sons of the Clergy should not succeed immediately to their Fathers in their Benefices; which must be understood of the legitimate sons of the Clergy. For Bastards were ever forbidden to succeed either mediately or immediately, and indeed to be received into Holy Orders. In a word, Mr. *Fox* undeniably demonstrates (e) from ancient Deeds, Evidences, and Records, wherein Estates are given, setled, or instilled upon Clergymen and their Wives, and Heirs lawfully begotten of their Wives; or wherein they together with their Wives sell Estates, that the use of Marriage was yet retained by the Clergy of *England* in the middle of the 14th Age.

(a) *Decret. Greg. l. 3. tit. 3. cap. 5.*

(b) *Can. 15.*

(c) *Can. 34.*

(d) *Lyndi Provinciale, lib. 1. fol. 23.*

(e) *Martyrol. Angl. Tom. II. p. 484.*

We might perhaps carry yet much farther the continuance of the Marriage of the Clergy in the *Western Church*, and that not only to the Reformation, but even to this day. For many of the more sober Clergy of the *Church of Rome* finding they could not contain without the use of Marriage, and the Church permitting to them, or conniving at the use of Concubines, have under colour of keeping Concubines, secretly married wives, and thereby both satisfied their own consciences, and avoided the censures of the Church. Or if they either could not or dared not use the Ceremonies of the Church

in their contract of Marriage, yet at least they obliged themselves and pledged their faith to their Concubines never to forsake them, and always to be true to their Bed, receiving the same assurances from them. By this reciprocal Promise a true and perfect Marriage is formed in the sight of God, although the publick Ceremonies of the Church do not interveno. So St. *Augustin* (*f*), *Isidore* (*g*), and *Gratian* (*b*) plainly determine: and therefore such Concubines are expresly allowed by the first Council of *Toledo* (*i*) in the year 400, and *Justinian* (*k*), and were permitted to *Christians*, till forbidden by *Leo* the Philosopher (*l*). Now that both those cases of Marriage were continued down in the *Church of Rome*, we are assured by *Alvarus Pelagius* (*m*), who complained to Pope *John* XXII. that *many Priests, and other persons in holy Orders, especially in Spain, Asturia, Gallicia, and other places, publickly, and sometimes by publick Writings, promised and swore to Women, chiefly those who were well descended, that they would never put them away, and gave them Portions of the Goods and Possessions of the Church, and sometimes publickly married them, in presence of their Kindred and Friends, with a solemn Banquet, as if they were their lawful Wives.* About the year 1220. *Otho*, the Pope's Legate, coming into *England*, published his Constitutions for the Government of this Church. Among them one (*a*) is particularly directed against the clandestine Marriage of the Clergy. After the Reformation *Cassander* (*b*) relateth, that *all the best and most religious Priests, perceiving their infirmity, and detesting the fault of Fornication, if they dare not publickly, at least privately, enter into Marriage.* Thus we find Marriage yet retained by the better and more religious part of the *Roman Clergy*. But then what shall we say of that Church, which so far alloweth Concubinacy, that, for the sake of it, she connives at the violation of her so much admired Celibacy, and to whom a chaste Marriage of the Clergy can recommend it self under no other name, than that of Fornication.

(*f*) *De bono conjug.*
(*g*) *Apud Gratian. Dist* 34. *c.* 5.
(*b*) *Dist.* 34. *c.* 5.
(*i*) *Can.* 17.
(*k*) *Novell.* 18.
(*l*) *Novell* 89.
(*m*) *De Planctu Eccl. l.* 2. *art.* 53.
(*a*) *Constit.* 5.
(*b*) *Optimi quique ac religiosissimi sacerdotes, Consult. art.* 23.

Thus have we brought down the History of the Imposition of Celibacy, to its Final Period, I mean the Uni-

versal

verſal Reception of it in the *Weſtern Church*, towards the end of the Fourteenth Age: when the Marriage of the Clergy fell from a general into a total diſuſe, and was thenceforth compelled to take refuge in the name and diſgrace of Fornication. What a deluge of Luſts and Impurities overflowed the *Chriſtian World*, when Celibacy became triumphant, and Marriage was exploded, may eaſily be imagined. Such deplorable Scandals of the Church I ſhould willingly paſs under ſilence and not provoke the anger of our Adverſaries, by the rehearſal of ſo ſad a truth, if the nature of my deſign did not require me to ſay ſomewhat of it, which yet I will propoſe with all modeſty and brevity. I will not here upbraid to our Adverſaries the noted Tragedy of Pope *Gregory*'s Fiſhponds, although related by *Huldericus* (c) more than 800 years ſince: nor the more famous ſtory of Pope *Joan*, although atteſted by more than twenty eight Hiſtorians (d) before the Reformation: I will not object to them the Incredible Beſtialities and Horrible Luſts of the Popes of the Tenth Age, nor inſiſt upon the Infamous Impurities of private Churchmen, I will produce only a few General Teſtimonies of the Writers of latter times. *Alvarus Pelagius*, Biſhop of *Silva* in *Portugal*, in the beginning of the Fourteenth Age, wiſheth (e), *that the Clergy had never vowed Chaſtity, eſpecially the Clergy of* Spain; *wherein the Sons of the Laity were not much more numerous than the Sons of the Clergy.* About the ſame time *Durandus*, junior (f) Biſhop of *Miniatum* in *France*, propoſing means for the reformation of the Church, adviſeth, among other things, *that it were ordered, that Publick Stews might not be kept near great Churches, not in the Court of* Rome *near to the Palace of the Pope, not in other Places near the Houſes of Biſhops.* In the next Age *Gerſon* (g) affirms, that either incontinent Prieſts muſt be tolerated, or none can be had; and therefore that it were more convenient for the Church, that Concubines ſhould be publickly permitted to the Clergy, than that the Laity ſhould be forbidden to hear the Maſſes of incontinent Prieſts. *Clemangis* (h) relates, that in many Dioceſſes, the Prieſts, giving a ſet and determinate price

(c) *Epiſt. ad Nicol. Pont.*

(d) *Vid. Godvinum Catal. Cardinal. Angl.*

(e) *De Planctu Eccl. l. 2. art. 27.*

(f) *De modo celebr. Conc. Gen. par. 2. rubr. 10.*

(g) *De Vitâ ſpirit. animæ. Lect. 4. Cor. 14. Prop. 3.*

(h) *De corrupt. Eccl. ſtatu. p. 15. §. 2.*

to their Bishops, publickly and openly kept Concubines. This scandal of selling Licenses of Concubinacy to the Clergy proceeded so far, that in *Germany* the Bishops and their Officers not only granted those Licences for a certain sum of money, to all who asked them; but also forced those Clergy-men to take them, who neither desired nor intended to make use of them. In *Switzerland* it was the custom in many *Cantons* in the times of Popery, that whensoever they received a new Pastour, they obliged him to take a Concubine, that he might not attempt the chastity of Virgins and Matrons.

Sleidan. Comment. lib. 3.

The same reason induced the Senate of *Rome*, when *Pius* V. intended to put down the publick Stews, to intercede and petition for the continuation of them, as well to gratifie the Clergy who incited them, as to prevent greater scandals; justly fearing the honour of their Wives and Daughters, if the Lust of the unmarried Clergy were diverted from the wonted channel. To say no more, the Adulteries, Fornications, Sodomies, and Bestialities, discovered in our Monasteries at their dissolution, are an evident demonstration of this sad truth. The Author of *Onus Ecclesiæ*, who was *John Suffragan* Bishop of *Salisbury*, and writ just before the Reformation, saith, (*b*) *There were very few Curates in* Germany, *who did not wallow in the filth of Concubinacy*; and that (*c*) *The Nunneries in his time were as publickly prostituted as the common Stews.* And lest we should imagin the *Romish* Clergy to have observed a greater Purity since the Reformation, than before, the Fornications and Incest of *Paul* III. the Sodomies of *Julius* III. and incestuous Commerce of *Innocent* X. with his Brothers Wife *Olimpia*, are yet fresh in the memory of all men; of the latter of which, Abbot *Gualdi* (*d*) confesseth, that the Histories of former Ages cannot produce a scandal so enormous, or an unlawful love so immoderate; which made him for her sake to forfeit both the Reputation of his Person, and the Honour of the Church. I will produce but one Example more, but that related by the Doctors of the *Sorbon*, (*e*) and consequently undeniable to our Adversaries. In a Visitation made in the

Thuanus Hist. lib. 39.

(*b*) *Cap.* 21.

(*c*) *Sunt prætala, ut ipsa loca Vrbis.. cap.* 22.

(*d*) *List of* Donna Olimpia.

(*e*) *Moral Practice of the Jesuits.*

year

year 1619. by the Biſhop of *Serzane*, at the command of Pope *Paul* V. it was found that among the Eccleſiaſticks of three large Provinces, *Stiria*, *Carinthia*, and *Carniola*, (who had all been bred up under the ſevere Diſcipline of the Jeſuits) there were found only ſix Prieſts, who kept not Concubines. Nor did the impoſition of Celibacy infect only the Morals of the *Roman* Clergy, but alſo corrupted their judgment; and by that means introduced far greater ſcandals into the Church: when Concubinacy and other unnatural Luſts being become univerſal, they employed their Wits to prevent their own ſhame, by proving thoſe Villanies not to be unlawful. For to paſs by an Encomium or Apology of Sodomy, publiſhed by *John Caſa* Archbiſhop of *Beneventum*, and Legate of the Pope; to omit the Complaint of *Gualter Mapes*, (*a*) That the Prieſts inſinuated into ſilly women a fear of damnation, if they denied their Embraces to them: it cannot be denied that many latter *Caſuiſts* of the Church of *Rome* have aſſerted, That Fornication committed only for the ſake of Health, or evacuation of an extimulant Humour, is not unlawful: and that moſt of them teach, that ſimple Fornication is no deadly ſin. I will alledge only one inſtance of theſe ſcandalous Maxims, but that proceeding from the Head of the *Romiſh* Church, and related by *Weſſelus* (*b*) of *Groningen* a learned and pious Divine of that Church. Pope *Sixtus* IV. out of the fulneſs of Apoſtolick power, gave a License to the whole Family of the Cardinal of St. *Lucia*, to commit Sodomy in the three hotter months of the year, with this clauſe: *Let it be done, as it is deſired.*

(*a*) *Haec mulieribus proponit maximam;*
Quid nulla ſalvabitur ad horam ultimam,
Calorum nec ingredi poterit januam,
Ni de corpore det ſuo dextram.
Apocalypſis Goliæ Pontif.

(*b*) *Apud Wolfium Lect. Memorab. Cent.* 15. *p.* 836. *Fiat, ut petitur.*

The ſenſe and ſcandal of ſo many Luſts, Impurities, and Beſtialities, daily committed by the unmarried Clergy, induced many great and learned men of the Church of *Rome*, to adviſe the abrogation of the Laws of Celibacy, and permiſſion of Marriage to the Clergy. *Panormitan* (*c*) giveth his opinion in theſe words: *It is enquired whether the preſent Church can enact, that a Clergy-man may contract* Marriage,

(*c*) *Credo pro bono & ſalute animarum quod eſſet hoc ſalubre ſtatutum. In cap. cum olim de Cler. coniug.*

Marriage, as the Greeks do. I answer, It may. And I do not only believe that the Church hath a power of decreeing this; but I also believe, that this would be a wholsom Constitution for the good and salvation of Souls. Pope Pius II. confessed, (d) That there were indeed former causes why Marriage should be taken from the Clergy, but now much greater causes why it ought to be restored. Polydor Vergil delivers his Judgment thus: (e) This I will affirm, That this enforced Chastity is so far from surpassing conjugal Chastity, that even the guilt of no crime ever brought greater disgrace to the Holy Order, greater damage to Religion, or greater grief to all good men, than the stain of the Clergies Lust. Wherefore it would perhaps be the interest as well of Christianity as of the Holy Order, that at last the Right of publick Marriage were restored to the Clergy; which they might rather chastly pursue without Infamy, than defile themselves by such brutal Lusts. Erasmus hath the like words: (f) If any consider the state of these times, how great a part of Mankind the multitudes of Monks take up, how great a part the Colledges of Priests and Clergymen; and then consider how few, out of so great a number, truly preserve Chastity of Life, with how great scandal most of them are openly incestuous and incontinent, into what kinds of Lusts innumerable of them degenerate: he will perhaps conclude it to be more convenient, that those who do not contain, may have the freedom of publick Marriage, which they may purely and chastly, without infamy, maintain, rather than that they should commit unhappy and shameful Lusts. The World hath now many unmarried men, but few chast; although neither is he chast, who useth not the company of a woman, because it is forbidden. But I very much fear, that the Revenues of the Church makes more Clergy-men at this day Eunuchs, than Piety doth: while we are afraid lest our Possessions should be intercepted by Wife and Children, or at least nothing added to them

(d) Platina in Vitâ ejus.

(e) Illud dixerim tantum ab fuisse, &c.—proinde forsitan tam è republicâ Christianâ quàm ex ordinis usu esset, ut tandem à liquando jus publici Matrimonii Sacerdotibus restitueretur, &c. De Invent. rer. lib. 5. cap 4.

(f) Si quis perpendat horum temporum statum, quotam hominum portionem Monachorum gregis occupent, &c. Annotat. in Ep. 1. ad Tim. cap. 3.

them by married Clergy. Cassander (a) saith, That if ever there was a time to change any old Custom, certainly these times seem to require some alteration of that, however antient, Custom. Lastly, all Princes and States before the Council of *Trent*, in their Petitions and Remonstrances for Reformation of the Church, never omitted to require the permission of Marriage to be restored to the Clergy. In the time of the Council, and after the conclusion of it, *Ferdinand* II. and *Maximilian* II. the Emperours, *Sigismund Augustus* King of *Poland*, *Albertus* Duke of *Bavaria*, and other Princes, earnestly desired the same thing by their Embassadours. But that Council too well knew the interests of the Church of *Rome*, to grant a Petition of that nature. Rather by defining that Marriage contracted after a Vow of Continence, is neither lawful nor valid, they have perhaps put the case beyond all remedy, and taken from the Church all possibility of ever restoring Marriage to the Clergy. For if Marriage after a Vow be in it self unlawful, the greatest Authority upon Earth cannot dispense with it, nor permit Marriage to the Clergy, who have already vowed Continence.

(a) *Quare si unquam tempus fuit antiquæ alicujus consuetudinis immutandæ; certè hæc tempora hujus, quamvis prisci, moris immutationem aliquam flagitare videntur.* Consult. art. 23.

If in the precedent Discourse I have said any thing injurious to the honour of true Virginity, I here retract it, and profess that a great veneration is due to that state of life, when a matter of choice, not of force, and that both in the entrance into it, and continuance of it; when undertaken for the increase of Piety, and advancement of divine Glory, not for any secular ends and advantages; when taken up by those who have the Gift of Continence, not affected by such as cannot contain. We believe there is somewhat in those words of our Saviour, *He that is able to receive it, let him receive it.* And with *Clemens Alexandrinus*, (b) *We reverence the happiness of the*

(b) Ἐμοὶ εὐχὴ μὲν, καὶ τὸν τῆς ἀδελφῆς ζῆλον τοῦ μακαρίζοντος, μονογαμίαν δὲ καὶ τὸ ἅπαξ γάμου συμπάσχειν ἀναμάζομαι, συμπίπτειν, δὲ δεῖν λέγουσιν, καὶ ἀλλήλων τὰ βάρη βαστάζειν, μήποτε τὸν δικαίων κάλως ἐπάραι καὶ ἀνὴρ πίστις. Strom. l. 3. in initio.

Gift

FINIS.